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ABSTRACT

Both participant and non-participant observation were used to analyze longitudinally a single group of black ghetto children in their school, homes, and with their friends. A basic goal of the study is said to consist in accounting for the educational experience of children over time. Two beginning chapters describe public schools and American society, and the methodology of the study. A third chapter on the St. Louis public schools provides a backdrop from which is analyzed the activities of an individual classroom within the system. An introduction to the Attucks School follows, along with a description of its social and cultural milieu. Four subsequent chapters which follow are said to demonstrate the impact of teachers' expectations, initially based on a series of subjectively interpreted social criteria for both the anticipated academic potential and subsequent differential treatment accorded to students perceived as having dissimilar social status. A final chapter on black children in a public school provides a summary, conclusions, considerations for innovation (policy and programs), and the perceptions of low-income children. Appendixes and a bibliography are included. (Author/AM)

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THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE GHETTO CHILD INTO THE URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

by
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Prepared in conjunction with the project
"The Natural History of the Education of the Deprived Negro Child"
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CHAPTER I

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND AMERICAN SOCIETY

1. INTRODUCTION

A dominant aspect of the American ethos is the belief that education is both a necessary and desirable experience for all children. It is necessary in that education, according to the belief, serves as a prime mechanism for the development of an enlightened citizenry which is crucial to the continuation of a democracy; and it is desirable in that education is believed to be the major means for social and economic mobility. To that end, compulsory attendence at some type of educational institution is required of all youth until their middle teens. Thus on any weekday during the school year, one can expect over 35 million young persons to be distributed among any one of nearly 1,100,000 elementary and secondary classrooms throughout the nation (cf. Jackson, 1968). Yet at no other time in American history have the schools been at the center of such controversy and debate as to whether they are fulfilling their designated political and social assignments (cf. Gittell and Hevesi, 1969). For a large segment of the population, the schools are believed to have failed on both counts, providing neither the training necessary to maintain a democracy nor equality of education to ensure access to desired mobility (cf. Berube and Gittell, 1969). For many who are insistent upon far-reaching reforms in American society to bring the ideology of the nation into congruency with the reality, the educational process is viewed as critical.

The occurrence of Sputnik created a major convulsion in American education. Claims of educational inferiority, incompetency and mediocrity were leveled at American educators for allowing the Soviet Union to surpass the United States in space achievement. The reaction of some was so extreme that they claimed the very foundation of American democracy was threatened by the achievement of the Soviets. As the ripple of reaction moved through the schools, there were immediate moves to strengthen the science curriculum and place emphasis on careers in engineering and the natural sciences. More recently, school disorders, long hair, draft and anti-war protests have also been attributed to the failure of the educational system to instill in the young sufficient belief in patriotism and "the American way." Bills have been introduced into legislative assemblies to withhold funds from those schools which allow protest to continue unabated; to require loyalty oaths for teachers; and to screen curriculum material for political orthodoxy. But for each of the groups demanding changes within the school system, there are opposing groups seeking to maintain the status quo. Thus schools are caught in the cross-currents of conflicting programmatic demands, suggestions, and attempts for educational change.

Within a second major contest, education is viewed as the way through which individual initiative and ability will be recognized and rewarded leading to higher socio-economic mobility. In the "traditional" view, equality of educational opportunity is advocated as the mechanism by which the handicaps of birth or poverty are removed and inherent intelligence is allowed to blossom into academic achievement. With talent and self-help to complete the educational requirements, the poor or low-status individual is supposedly afforded an equal opportunity to compete for social, economic or political rewards with those of more privileged backgrounds. The assumption is made that the inherent intelligence of the child is determined prior to his coming to school, and it is the duty of the school to provide access by which the intelligent youth of humble origins may rise above poor surroundings. A more radical view of the relation of the school to those of poverty backgrounds, noted by Trow (1966), is that equal opportunity in education should not relate to providing avenues of mobility for the intelligent low-income child, but rather to provide the essential means to gain intelligence. Thus intelligence is not viewed as innate, but rather as something earned or achieved. The implications of such a position are far-reaching in the sense that they imply the active intervention of the school to aid in the intellectual development of the child. This position has been extended to include the milieu of the home. In those circumstances where the home is viewed as not providing the necessary motivational inputs to intelligence acquisition, the child would be taken from the home and given, for example, Headstart programs designed to provide compensatory socialization for the deficiencies found in the home.

Yet the utilization of education in relation to future success and mobility has not demonstrated the anticipated results. There continues to accrue in America a large number of persons who have entered the educational system, but left without enhanced mobility and status. This situation is most acutely the case in low-income and

and minority areas of large cities. Many parents increasingly recognize that the schools are not providing their children with the necessary skills to compete successfully in the economic market place. Demands are arising for community control of schools to ensure that the children are adequately and properly taught. The schools, on the other hand, respond with the rebuttal that they can hardly be expected to provide high quality education in areas where there are high rates of poverty, family disorganization, unemployment, crime, and lack of motivation, on the part of both students and parents.

11. SOCIALIZATION AND CHANGE

Numerous demands are being made for fundamental and basic change in the structure of public education in the United States. Yet there is also persistent and deep-seated resistance to any such change. Though the presence of unequal and inferior education for a large segment of children is acknowledged, there is reluctance to examine the basis for such conditions. As Leacock (1969) notes:

> . . . the simple and unfortunate fact of the matter is that our educational institution, as the socializing institution second only to the family, is primarily geared, from a sociological point of view, to maintaining and reinforcing the social-economic structure of our society. Schools are the means through which children are prepared to fit rungs on the occupational ladder more or less equivalent to those occupied by their parents; they are the means by which children are trained and selected for higher education and hence higher status, not primarily on the basis of ability, but on the basis of their family's position in society.

The findings of the present study concur with those stated by Leacock. The educational experience for many of the children described in the following pages was in many ways irrelevant to substantive learning, the stated functional goal of the school.

A major contention which permeates the educational writings of John Dewey is that education is to be built on the experiences of the child. School and classroom are not to be divorced from home and playground, but are to incorporate the latter as integral and valid aspects of learning. The atmosphere in which children are able to learn, Dewey contends, should present a "tough-minded intellectual challenge." The principles espoused by Dewey may be extrapolated to consider not only the atmosphere in which children learn, but also the essence of that which they learn. The data of the present study would suggest that, for the sake of preserving self-identity, self-esteem and a realistic view of their world, children do not internalize certain substantive aspects of the curriculum. The curriculum and teachers appear disposed not to present the life experiences and knowledge of the poor and black urban child in a favorable manner. Rather, as Klineberg (1963) has noted, school is the place where the myth is perpetuated that "life is fun in a smiling, fair-skinned world."

Though the assumption is often made by teachers and administrators that the children come to the school so injured by poverty and deprivation that they cannot be taught, some children do in fact manage to escape the confines of the ghetto school system. Granted that the number of students who manage to reach the university from the ghetto school system has in the past been quite small, the question nevertheless must be asked, "Why is it that some children eventually make it and others do not?" The teachers in the school described in this study speak of some children as "college bound" and others as destined for relief rolls. The data suggest that a stratified social organization was created among a group of school children as a result of the differential expectations held by the teacher. In addition to an examination of the processes whereby the social organization of the classroom developed, this study will also seek to elucidate the differential patterns of socialization present within the class as a result of the social organization. The data suggest a number of ways in which the teachers passed on to the students both manifest and latent messages indicating how they were perceived by the larger society. The messages continually given to the students held in high esteem by the teachers differed considerably from those given to students perceived as incapable or unwilling to learn. Interestingly, those students held in high esteem by the teachers were from complete families which had attained a degree of middle class status and stability. Likewise, those defined as destined "failures" were overwhelmingly from poor and broken homes.

The literature is replete with studies documenting the numerous ways by which schools socialize children into different behavioral and attitudinal patterns parallel to their anticipated adult life styles. The early study of Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb (1944) indicates in general terms how in the response to community values the schools select from the student population those most able to achieve social mobility for desired adult status. Hollingshead (1949) deals with this same process in greater detail in a subsequent study. More recently, Sexton (1961) has documented the fact that within at least one major metropolitan center, the type of school one attends is clearly dependent upon social origins. The result is that the schools in low-income areas were measured as significantly inferior to those in higher-income areas. The schools were in older buildings which were less well equipped with recreational and educational facilities; they experienced higher rates of faculty turn-over; had a larger proportion of teaching time provided by substitutes; and were less likely to provide remedial programs. In the same year, Conant (1961) underscored the differences noted by Saxon in his comparison of Slums and Suburbs. Leacock (1969) has elucidated the significant differences in socialization patterns present in four urban school types, the low-income black school, the low-income white school, and both middle-income white and black schools. The study clearly outlines the numerous ways in which larger societal patterns of social organization are infused in the very fabric of the educational experience for children in the various types of schools. Personal accounts of teaching experiences by Hentoff (1966), Kohl (1967) and Kozol (1967) have also noted the patterns of socialization present in the low-income black school.

111. THEORETICAL PARAMETERS OF THIS STUDY

Within the present study, I have not accepted notions of social Darwinism or social determinism. That is, I am unwilling to accept the view that prior to the first days of school, a child's ability to learn has been unalterably fixed due to both genetic and environmental factors. I view the process of schooling neither as a process whereby those who are destined to emerge in the "survival of the smartest" will do so nor as a process in which potential and performance arise from a predetermined set of social experiences and modes of socialization. Rather, I am inclined to believe that intellectual growth and cognitive development occur to a large degree as a result of the social milieu in which the child is being taught. I do not deny that there are many children from poverty stricken backgrounds who have been injured and demoralized to the point that the established classroom routines will not suffice. They are in need of individual care and support. Yet the same does not hold true for hundreds of thousands of poor children in public school classrooms who cannot or will not adapt to the demands of the established patterns and routines of education. Studies have yet to be done on determining how the coping and adapting mechanism employed by poor children essential to their survival and growth in the urban ghettoes may be transferred to the classroom.

The present study seeks to understand which social processes are operant within ghetto classrooms--how a stable social organization emerges from a group of thirty children and one adult who have had no previous interpersonal contact and who must spend over one thousand hours together in a single room. Likewise, patterns of socialization are explored whereby the teacher at the end of the kindergarten year predicts which children will attend college and which will drop out of high school. In a broader context the question may be asked how a single classroom will come to have a distinctly different impact on different children. For example, Lilly,[1] a child from a family with eleven children supported by public welfare funds, sat passively in the classroom speaking occasionally with several of her classmates, but seldom with the teacher. She was described by the kindergarten teacher as definitely a "slow learner" and possibly brain damaged. Yet the same child in her home was verbal, gregarious, friendly, and quite soliticitous of her younger brothers and sisters. She also was able to concentrate for an hour and a half more in her home as she studied the alphabet and numbers. Laura, on the other hand, came from a home where she was the only child. Both her mother and father worked. She was the "center of attraction" in the class and continually held as a model that the remainder of the class was to emulate. The teacher described Laura as her "best student." At home, she was friendly and quiet. She was kept inside by her mother who did not want her to play with the neighborhood children. Her interpersonal contacts outside school appeared to be restricted to her parents and grandparents. Though she had little contact with children other than in class, her classmates indicated her to be one of the two most popular children in the class.

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[1] The names of all staff and students as well as the school itself are pseudonyms. Names are provided to indicate that the discussion relates to living persons, and not fictional characters developed by the author.

The patterns of socialization for Lilly and Laura were distinctly different and carried over from one grade to another. This study will attempt to probe the question of how a social institution, namely the public school, creates patterns of socialization for such children that shapes them to different routines and habitual actions. Yet by rejecting notions of social determinism, one cannot view the children only as respondents to the pressures of the socialization processes instigated by the school. They also create and initiate patterns of social interaction and value systems that may either complement, or contradict the patterns of the institution. Thus for the school and each of the individual teachers to retain a sense of legitimacy with the children and respond to their patterns of organization, there must be areas of compromise and negotiation between the institution and the students. If the school fails to respond in any manner to the children and attempts to impose an arbitrary set of behavioral standards, legitimacy may be seriously threatened. The degree to which the schools have attempted to establish arbitrary patterns is indicated by the serious unresolved problems within the schools between the staff and the students. Likewise, such actions may also reflect the serious loss of legitimacy that the schools have experienced in numerous segments of the larger society.

The data suggest that it would be incorrect to attempt to analyze the dynamics of the classroom interactional patterns from a single standard of cultural or behavioral norms. Rather it will be suggested that the classroom provides a series of alternative processes for the socialization of the children. Thus the socialization of Laura need not be viewed as a variation of the same process operant with Lilly. For both of these children, there emerged within the class definitions of acceptable and unacceptable behavior that were not synonomous. The patterns of conformity expressed as desirable by the teacher for Laura were not those expressed for Lilly. Likewise, definitions as to what constituted deviance from the patterened behavioral and attitudinal characteristics were dissimilar. What may be interpreted as the deviant role for Laura of "not learning" was defined as acceptable for Lilly.

The teacher's definition as to what constituted acceptable behavior and attitudes manifested in the class by the two girls during the course of the kindergarten school year became institutionalized and intrinsic to the larger patterns of social organization within the classroom. Similar patterns of institutionalized expectations were also evident in the second grade classroom for the same two girls, even though the second grade teacher was new to the school and had not been present when the children were in kindergarten.

Chapter II attempts to outline the various research strategies utilized within this study. The means by which the majority of data was collected on the children, in the classrooms and also with their friends and in their homes, involved naturalistic observations, both participant and non-participant. It was a fundamental assumption of this study that if one sought to understand the internal order and logic of the classroom experience for the children, one had to become part of that social system. Thus direct observation was utilized to ascertain patterns of socialization and social organization which emerged within the class. Likewise, by the observation of the children in their homes and with friends, the reciprocal influences of home and peers in relation to the school could be noted.

To demonstrate the manner in which the macro-system of the entire public school system of a large city directly affects the experiences of individual children in one elementary school, four different levels of analysis are employed in this study. Beginning in Chapter III with the St. Louis Board of Education and the city public school system, attention focuses on methods of decision making, degree of decentralization to cope with local needs, response to the presence of the new majority of black children in the city public schools, and the training provided to future teachers in the city schools. The study begins with an examination of the entire public school system in the city in order to place the individual school and classrooms in context. One must take account of institutionalized patterns of behavior and expectations present throughout the city school system. Failiing to do so, one is forced to either leave unexplained or attribute to individual idiosyncratic behavior that which may be understandable in view of the entire system. The study is an attempt to move beyond the examination of isolated classrooms and place observed behavior and attitudes within a larger context. The study has approached an exmaination of the experiences of individual black children in an urban ghetto school in a funnel-like fashion, the broad mouth equivalent to the entire macro-level system, with increasing specificity leading to an examination of an individual school, to an individual classroom and finally to the micro-level and the educational experiences of four individual children. The study follows one class of children and the four in particular from the first day of kindergarten to the Christmas vacation of their second grade year.

In Chapter IV, a single elementary school in the city system is discussed. Attucks School, named after a black man killed in the Revolutionary War, is examined in terms of the teaching staff, the two principals who served at the school during the course of the study, the ideology of the school in relation to the community, the parents and the children, and mechanisms by which more than nine hundred individuals order themselves within a single building for nearly seven hours a day, five days a week, for forty weeks. The impact of racial segregation and isolation in St. Louis is evident in the school, for it is all black. The curriculum, used city-wide, is oriented toward white middle class students and is evident in the textbooks and workbooks given to the children. Likewise, in the library, few if any books concerned with the lives and experiences of black people are displayed.

Chapter V focuses on the first few weeks of school for the kindergarten class at Attucks School. Beginning with the first day of school where children ages four and five are initially exposed to the routines, expectations, and habitual patterns of institutionalized behavior, note is made of mechanisms by which social organization and social stratification emerge within the class. The chapter is deliberately limited to the first few days of school, for as the year progressed, the patterns of organization and socialization initiated by the teacher in those first few days were to determine the majority of events and behaviors in the class. The relationship between the city-wide school system and the individual classroom were evident in the following: the class comprised of only black students and a black teacher; the attitudes and expectations of the teacher seemingly influenced by her training at the city teacher college; the presence of inappropriate curriculum; and the lack of decentralized decision-making to enable the school to make the adaptations necessary to meet the needs of black children living in an urban ghetto.

Chapter VI examines the progression of the class through the remainder of the kindergarten year, detailing over time the impact of social organization and socialization patterns on the educational experience of the children. Likewise, certain pedagogical considerations are noted and examined as they are effected by the social and cultural milieu of the classroom. The account of the classroom activities and interactions are presented in essentially an ethnographic manner interspersed with a series of interpretive asides.

Chapter VII traces the similarities of social organization established by the kindergarten teacher as carried over into the first grade. The seating arrangement of the children (divided into three groups) was nearly identical to that present in the kindergarten class the previous year. The chapter includes no formal observations of classroom activity and interaction for I was out of the city during the academic year due to a teaching appointment.

Chapter VIII provides an extensive discussion of the manner by which the social organization, present in both the kindergarten and first grade, is transferred into the second grade room. Again seating assignments are nearly identical to those of the two previous years. Patterns of socialization, which in the kindergarten appeared to be determined in significant measure by the differential expectations of the teacher, are also noted as present in the second grade room. An additional criterion of past performance becomes crucial for the anticipated performance and potential of the child by the teacher. The impact of the organization of the children into three reading groups reflecting the divisions of the class along a series of socio-economic factors is also discussed.

In the final chapter, Chapter IX, there is presented both a summary of the pertinent findings as well as implications for policy making in the area of urban elementary education. The impact of differential expectations and subsequent differential treatment by the teachers is viewed within the larger context of American social class patterns. It is suggested that the macro-level system of class stratification for the entire society is mirrored to a large extent in the micro-level analysis of the classrooms of Attucks School. The significance of the public school as a major socializing institution is also noted in relation to its contribution to the maintenance of the present stratification system. Policy making implications are viewed in light of the impact of education on future occupational and social mobility. Alternative methods by which those of low-income backgrounds may be adequately educationally prepared to compete with those of middle and upper income backgrounds for the economic and social rewards of the society are suggested. Such alterations in the present structure of the public schools are viewed as necessary only if one does not desire the present social class configuration to remain intact.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

To seek to understand how within schools children learn and why some succeed and others fail, I believe it necessary to make oneself a part of the classroom milieu. The process of socialization of a child within a classroom involved the development of attitudes, values, beliefs, and patterns of behavior. One can neither discover nor observe the influence of the educational experience upon the child by merely relying on abstracted measures of aptitude, attitude, academic performance or intelligence "quotients." Though these indices may provide guidelines as to the performance of the child, they do not explain the complexities of the interactional processes in classroom activity. It is in the manifestation of classroom behavior that I believe one may find the clearest guidelines as to the impact of the formal educational experience for the child. It is also in this context that the manifestations of the beliefs and attitudes of the teacher concerning her role, evaluation of the children and perceptions of herself as a teacher are most clearly discernible. A teacher will spend nearly one thousand hours with her students during the course of the school year. Such intensive and continuous interaction within the confines of a single room results in an internal order and logic that can be discerned by one who seeks to make himself a part of that classroom.

The process whereby children are socialized through long and continuous contact with schools is neither static nor only sporadic. It is, rather, both dynamic and continuous. Of course, there are long periods of time within the classroom in which there appears to be an absence of activity, such as when children work silently at their desks. Yet I contend that even long periods of non-verbalization and lack of physical activity are important, indeed critical, to an understanding of the educational experience for the child. To be expected to spend long periods of absolute silence in a single room among thirty friends is as integral to the school experience as is recess.

To speak of the socialization process as continuous is to imply that the element of time is central to the experience. As noted by Henry (1967), if one wishes to understand the outcome of the educational experience for a particular child, it is necessary to examine three phenomena: the experience of the child at home, in school and with his peers. All, however, must be examined in relation to the passage of time. The longer a specific process continues--in this case the education of the child--the greater the effect it will ultimately have on the individual.

It is a basic goal of this study to account for the educational experience of the child over time. Though one may plot the progress of a child through an educational institution by means of grade cards and teacher reports, such indicators remain, at best, only abstractions of actual behavior and performance. The problem thus becomes one of devising alternative methods to describe and interpret the educational experience of the child. I would suggest a more fruitful method by which to study the experiences of children in schools is to directly observe them in the environs of the classrooms, halls and playgrounds. Such is the method employed in the present study.

Various labels have been attached to the research technique of direct observation of human activity and interaction in an ongoing, naturalistic fashion. Possibly the earliest use of this technique was by anthropologists in their field studies of primitive peoples. Malinowski (1922) labeled his technique of observation and participation in the various activities of a Trobriand village as "ethnography." He described his goal in utilizing this technique as follows:

> The field ethnographer has seriously and soberly to cover the full extent of the phenomena in each aspect of tribal culture studies, making no difference between what is commonplace or drab, or ordinary, and what strikes him as astonishing and out-of-the-way. At the same time, the whole area of tribal culture, in all its aspects has to be gone over in research. The consistency, the law and order which obtain within each aspect make also for joining them into one coherent whole

He also contended that the proper conditions for ethnographic work necessitated "cutting oneself off from the company of other white men" in order to stay as close as possible to the natives. Thus for many months he camped in the village of the natives instead of living in the compound of the whites nearby.

More recently within the anthropological tradition, Valentine (1968) has called for new ethnographic research to be conducted among various groups of the poor. He states that it will be only in this fashion that the actual motivations and desires of the poor will become known. Likewise, only through direct participation in the life of those that are poor will there emerge an understanding of the structure of the society in which they live.

Valentine contends that just as provincial judgements were made by colonial peoples concerning the natives they encountered, so also provincial judgments are presently being made about the poor by middle class social scientists. He develops his conceptual understanding of ethnography as follows:

> It /ethnography/ requires that the ethnographer live with the people whose culture he studies. From the time of pioneer field workers onward, it has been recognized that prolonged, intensive, direct exposure to the actual conditions of life is needed to understand a previously unknown culture. This involves direct observation of social behavior and participation in community life as well as systematic questioning and discussion with informants. Only by this immersion in ongoing group existence can the anthropolcgist probe thoroughly beneath the surface of a culture and replace superficial impressions with more accurate insights.

Within the discipline of sociology, extensive use has also been made of direct observation of human behavior and interaction. In "non-participant observation," researchers merely observe interaction, while in "participant observation," they also are involved in the very behavior they are studying.

Sociologists have utilized non-participant observation for the study of industrial strikes (Gouldner, 1954); community organization (D. Hatch, 1948; R. Lynd, 1928; W. Warner, 1944); behavior in public places (Goffman, 1963); psychiatric interviewing (Scheff, 1966); clientele in stores with pornographic material (Polsky, 1967; Rist, 1969); controlled studies involved with attitude formation (Katz, 1957); effects of group pressure upon the modification and distortion of judgments (Asch, 1952); and development or racial identification (Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952). The setting in which such observations occur vary from the naturalistic setting of the union hall or book store to the highly structured surroundings of the laboratory.

Though the method of participant observation is highly similar to that of non-participant observation, the crucial distinction lies in that the participant observer becomes actively engaged in the interactions and activities of the group. This method, of course, bears strong resemblance to the ethnographic method employed by anthropologists. In fact, often those within the discipline of sociology who utilize participant observation will characterize their study as being in the area of "social anthropology." The semantics, I would suggest, should not obscure the commonality of method. Examples in the sociological literature of studies utilizing participant observation include Whyte (1943) in his study of "Cornerville," where he not only lived within the community for more than two years, but joined local organizations and participated in bowling matches with local residents. Anderson's (1923) study of the hobo necessitated his leading the life of an unemployed drifter for an extended period of time. Becker's study of jazz musicians (1955) was written from the perspective of one who had been a musician with various jazz bands. Most recently, Henslin (1967) spent six months as a cab driver in a large metropolitan area while Humphreys participated as a voyeur (1968) for men engaged in homosexual activity in public restrooms. Humphreys noted in relation to his technique:

> I believe ethnographic methods are the only truly empirical ones for the social scientist. When human behavior is being examined, systematic observation is essential; so I had to become a participant - observer of furtive, felonious acts.

Within the field of education, both participant and non-participant observation have been employed in the study of classroom activities and interactions. Bellack (1966), Biddle (1967), Flanders (1962), Henry (1963), B. Smith, _et_. _al_. (1964), L. Smith and Geoffrey (1968), Tabe (1966), and Vaughn and Faber (1952) have all utilized direct observations of classroom situations to analyze attitude formation, peer group relations, student teacher training and variations in teacher control techniques. Perhaps the most extensive endeavor within the area of education concerning classroom observation has come from Smith and Geoffrey who were able to utilize both participant and non-participant observation techniques in the study of a single classroom. They have termed their technique of classroom observation "microethnography" because of their concern with a single small social system and their attempt to approach the study as social anthropologists. Geoffrey was the teacher and thus became the participant observer while Smith was the non-participant observer involved in keeping a continuous record of the classroom activities. They state that the combination of these two techniques enabled them to approach the study of the classroom from an "inside-outside" perspective.

> Mr. Geoffrey, the classroom teacher, was a full-fledged participant in the research. He kept daily field notes of his perceptions of the classroom and its functioning. As the university observer, Louis Smith was equally a full-fledged participant in the research. He kept detailed field notes of his observations of the classroom. While it is not our purpose at this point to analytically develop the distinctions between the participant and the non-participant observer, it should be noted that the classroom was viewed from these two perspectives: the teacher who had an inside look at what was going on and why it was going on and the university investigator who had an outsider's view of what was happening and why it was happening.

Smith came to Geoffrey's classroom "all day, everyday" for an entire semester. The thrust of the investigation was to learn more of "how a middle-class teacher copes with a group of lower-class children." No mechanical devices were utilized to record classroom activity and Smith kept a continuous handwritten account during the observational period.

An additional area of study that is important to this analysis is the observation of activities and interactions of members within a family. Research within a family has most often necessitated the utilization of both participant and non-participant observation. Henry (1963), lived for varying periods of time with several families who had mentally disturbed children. Lewis (1961, 1965) has employed both participant and non-participant techniques in the study of poverty striken families in Mexico, Puerto Rico and New York City. It has only been recently, however, that both participant and non-participant observations have been employed in the study of the urban black family (cf. Ladner, 1968; Rainwater, 1964, 1966, 1967; Schulz, 1969). Though these studies have entailed examination of life styles, food habits, marriage patterns, adolescent sexual adjustment, employment behavior and child rearing practices, none has specifically focused on the family as it relates to the educational experiences of the black child.

II. METHODOLOGY AND THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

As noted previously, Henry contends that to fully understand the educational experience of the child, there are three critical areas one must examine; the school, the home and the peer group of the child. All three are highly interdependent and the methods and rate by which children learn are directly attributable to the influence of these three variables. To isolate any of these areas and study it apart from the other two gives one an incomplete analysis of the experience of the child. This, unfortunately, has been the thrust of a predominant number of studies on childhood education. Intensive analysis of I.Q. scores, attitude scales, reading achievement, and motivational indices have all had the effect of abstracting the school experience of the child to a series of empirical correlations. Likewise, in evaluating the impact of the home on the educational experience of the child, a description of the cultural milieu of the home is the basis for the rating of the child on a "deprivation index" that is to estimate his learning potential (cf. Deutsch, 1967). Such variables listed in the index as the number of trips out of the city, number of meals the family eats together, and number of siblings are purported to give an estimate of the learning capacity of the child within the classroom.

There has not to my knowledge been reported any findings relating the influence of the child's peer group experience simultaneously to both his home and school experience. Attention has been given by criminologists to the relation of deliquency to peer group experiences and home environment. The thrust of these studies, however, was not to ascertain the educational experience of the child, but to seek explanations for delinquent behavior. In a similar fashion, a number of educators and sociologists have attempted to seek correlations among two of the three variables, most often the relation of school experience and home environment. Consideration of the "culture of poverty", the "cultural gap between home and school" and "the disadvantaged child" have all sought to demonstrate relationships between the home and the school. Yet, to reiterate, learning does not take place only in the home and the school, because children also learn from one another.

The research to be reported in this study involved, in its broadest scope, both participant and non-participant observation of a group of black children from September, 1967 to December, 1970 in their school, in their homes and with their friends. I sat as a non-participant observer in the kindergarten classroom at least twice weekly throughout the 1967-1968 school year attempting to keep a continuous handwritten account of classroom activity. No mechanical devices were utilized at any point in the recording of activity. During the kindergarten year, I also visited in the homes of several of the children in the class often actively participating with them in ball games, reading to them and taking them for trips in my car. During the home visits with the children and their parents, no attempt was made to keep a continuous handwritten account of activity. Notes were recorded from memory at the end of the visit. During the first grade year (1968-1969), only four informal visits were made to the classroom. No home visits were made. When the children began second grade, I returned to the classroom again acting as a non-participant observer and keeping continuous handwritten notes of the classroom activity. During both the kindergarten and second grade years, the length of the classroom observational periods varied from forty-five minutes to three and one half hours. Interviews were conducted with the teachers, administrators, and special service personnel in the school. Also, I attended a variety of school functions, such as Parent-Teacher meetings and school assemblies. Particularly in the 1969-1970 school year, I spent time with the teachers informally in their lounge.

I believe it necessary, at this point, to clarify what benefits can be derived from the detailed analysis over time of a single group of children. The single most apparent weakness of the vast majority of studies of urban education, and education in general, is that they lack any longitudinal perspective. The complexities of the interactional processes which evolve over time within the classrooms cannot be discerned either with abstracted measures nor with only a few one-or-two-hour observational periods. Education is a social process that involves the development of values, norms, beliefs, patterns of behavior, and expectations for the future. The slow, gradual and often times deceiving development of these aspects of the educational experience cannot be documented by other than direct observation over time. Also, since I do not believe that the classrooms described in this study are atypical from others in urban, black ghetto neighborhoods, longitudinal study will enhance the possibilities of studying methods of adaptation of black children to the socialization factors inherent in a basically white, middle-class value oriented institution.

In the School--With the Teachers

Of crucial importance throughout the duration of the study was the cooperation of the teachers involved. Though they were advised administratively that an "observer" was to be in their room during the course of the school year, the informal development of friendship was essential for their acceptance and willingness to confide in me.

The kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Caplow, and I were introduced by the principal, Mr. Miller, in his office two days before the beginning of the school year. Arrangements and permission had been secured through the administrative hierarchy of the school system for my presence in the school. Since there was only one kindergarten class in the building, there was little choice for the teacher but to accept my presence. Mrs. Caplow was very pleasant during our first meeting when I attempted to explain the reason for my presence in her class. I told her that I was interested in studying how children learn and why some appear to learn more quickly than do others. I also assured her that I was not working for the Board of Education and that no reports were going to be filed to the Board on the activities I observed in the classroom. Though she indicated that she understood my lack of relation to the school system, she periodically throughout the school year would ask me how often I was writing "reports" on the classroom. I would then have to assure her that no reports were being written other than those for my supervisor at the university.

During the first weeks of school, I attempted to remain as unobtrusive as possible within the classroom. I did not leave my seat in the corner of the room and did not attempt to initiate interaction with the teacher during the classroom observational period. At the end of six weeks of observation, I secured her permission to walk among the children, and also began to talk much more frequently with her concerning classroom activities and the events of the day. Also, Mrs. Caplow began, after a period of time, to ask my help in such ways as threading the projector, helping with the children crossing the streets during field trips and carrying heavy packages for her. Informally our interaction also increased as she began to ask me to join her for a cup of coffee during the morning recess and at Christmas she invited me to a program at her church. As our acquaintance grew, I found it exceedingly difficult to maintain a clear distinction between my role of participant or non-participant observer, for I was increasingly brought into interaction with her and would occasionally have to alternate between the two roles during the course of the classroom observation.

During this first year of the study, I met on an informal basis only several other teachers in the school. The kindergarten class was somewhat isolated from the rest of the classrooms and I often entered the classroom through a side entrance. I did learn to know the first grade teacher, for she periodically came into the kindergarten classroom. Other teachers were met informally in the halls or else at school functions like the Christmas program or Parent-Teacher Association meetings. When introduced to a teacher, I was often asked what I was doing at the school and I would explain my interest in studying how children learn. Often there was then a subtle question directed towards me as to "what was I really doing at the school." I would only comment as I did previously.

When the children went to the first grade, I knew their new teacher, Mrs. Logan, from the previous year. Though I was unable to conduct formal observations of the classroom activity, I did visit the class on four occasions informally. The first grade teacher was always very pleasant during my short visits and she would immediately begin to have the children show me work that they had completed. I spoke only very briefly with her and never developed the friendship that I had had with the kindergarten teacher. During this year, I had no interaction with any other teachers in the building except the kindergarten teacher. I would always stop by her room during my stay at the school and speak with her for a brief period.

Since I had been at the school the previous year, no question was raised as to my coming to the school for these short informal visits. The two teachers were always pleasant and quite friendly. I interpret that this was due not only to the development of friendships, but that the first year had passed and no "reports" had been filed with the Board of Education. Though I am sure suspicion decreased considerably during the course of the first year, I believe that the teachers were still somewhat suspicious of my motives at the end of the school year. When I returned the following year and they had heard of no reports, they appeared more willing to accept me as a bona fide researcher.

The second grade teacher of the children in this study had taught one year previously, and that in the third grade. Never having met Mrs. Benson, two days before the beginning of school, I introduced myself to both the new principal, Mr. Elder, and the second grade teacher. I explained to Mrs. Benson my relationship to the school for the past two years and indicated that I would like to again observe the children during a part of their second grade year. Mrs. Benson was quite agreeable and mentioned that the kindergarten teacher had come to her room earlier in the day and told her that I might be coming to visit her class this year. With my introduction plus the legitimation by the kindergarten teacher of my role in the school, Mrs. Benson seemed quite at ease with me and immediately began an informal conversation regarding the upcoming World Series. After school began, she was always friendly and from the first day of school allowed me to wander through the room observing the activities of the children when they were at their desks.

I was much more rapidly drawn into the interaction of the second grade classroom than had been the case in the kindergarten class. The teacher almost immediately began to ask my help with a number of tasks.

It may have been an inadvertent aspect of spending long periods within the class that the teacher began to rely on me as a male for assistance on various occasions. I was asked to escort the boys to the boys' washroom, tack pictures on the wall with a small hammer and move tables. An extreme example of this situation was during a field trip to a city park. The boys, several of whom I had known for two years, all clustered around me as we began to walk. The teacher simply asked the girls to come with her and she then proceeded to walk thirty to forty feet ahead during the entire trip. She issued no directives to the boys. I perecived a seemingly implicit communication by her actions that I was to assume responsibility for the boys during the trip. Thus I became a participant in that I explained different plants and animals to the boys, took them to the bathroom, and led them back to the bus at the end of the walk.

In the second grade year I also became well acquainted with a number of other teachers in the building. This was primarily due to the fact that the second grade teacher was a member of a large clique of younger teachers at the school. They ate lunch together each day and spent their coffee breaks together in the teachers' lounge. The second grade teacher introduced me to her friends and I was given an open invitation to lunch any day with this group. I did so on numerous occasions and thus grew to know many of the teacher quite well. Given that the teachers would gossip in my presence about the principal and other teachers, I assume that they accepted me as a rather harmless college student who did not like to eat by himself. I did not have these avenues of meeting teachers during the year that I was with the kindergarten teacher, for she was somewhat of an isolate, somewhat older than all those in the clique of young teachers, and separated from the rest of the classrooms and teachers by the structure of the building.

With the Children

When the children came into the kindergarten classroom on the first day of school, I was in the room seated in a corner. The teacher introduced me as simply "Mr. Rist, a visitor in our room." The children seemed to accept my presence in the classroom without any special reservation, perhaps because they had not yet had experience with student teachers or principals and thus could not confuse their roles with mine. During the first few days of class, most of the children came to my seat and watched me write in my notebook. Several asked what I was writing and I explained I was writing about activity in the room. They often asked if I was writing about them. I then would write their names on the border of the page and show it to them. They seemed quite pleased with this and would go and tell the teacher that I had written their names. There was also indication that the children were intrigued with me as a white. Several times, a few children rubbed their hands over my head and asked my why my hair was so long and straight. Once two boys came and asked why my skin was so red.

Though I had made no formal agreement with the kindergarten teacher, I followed a course of non-intervention in the classroom activities as much as possible. She had asked me early in the semester if I wished to teach the class on any occasion. I thanked her for the offer but declined, indicating that I would rather merely observe the children.

I also did not participate in any of the classroom discussions or activities of the children when they were in interaction with the teacher. The teacher did not explicitly give the children permission to come to where I was seated, but she seemed to permit such visits when they were not involved in assigned tasks.

There were three basic aspects to the strategy I followed in my relations with the children. First, I attempted not to interfere or intrude in their activities. Secondly, when the children came either to show me work that they had completed or to relate some incidents, I attempted to be supportive and interested in what the child was showing or telling me. Because I continually attempted to remain positive in my relation to the children, they began to increasingly come to me during the course of the year. One further development resulting from this strategy was that the children designated as "slow learners" by the teacher came quite frequently to show me their material--more often, on some occasions,than they went to the teacher. I attribute this phenomena to the children's desire for support and encouragement--something very seldom forthcoming to the "slow learners" from the teacher. The third aspect of my strategy in relation to the children was to avoid becoming part of the authority structure of the classroom. I did not reprimand the children, report incidents of disruptive behavior to the teacher, or attempt to guide the class when the teacher wws out of the room.

During indoor and outdoor recess periods, I was able to maintain a good deal of informal contact with the children. We would chat informally, or the children would ask questions of me. In the early part of the spring, "jump rope" became a fad among the girls in the class, and I was asked to twirl one end of a long rope. I consented and thus spent many recess periods with the girls twirling the rope for them.

During recess periods, I was not only able to develop a deeper acquaintance with the children, but I could also observe them in unstructured interaction with their peers. I believe the behavioral patterns that developed in the play situation during the course of the year are a crucial aspect in understanding the experience of the child within the school. Most generally, the pattern indicated that the behavior of the children among themselves in the classroom was highly similar to the way in which they behaved on the playground. The transmission of values and norms among the children was evident within the class, but it came into stronger relief when the structure of the classroom was removed. Divisions along socio-economic variables in the classroom were the basis for similar divisions on the playground.

Due to my infrequent visits with the children while they were in first grade, there was little or no chance for informal interaction with them. My visits consisted primarily of speaking for a short period with the teacher and then looking at materials that the children had completed. I was unable to observe a single recess period, nor did I observe the first grade teacher engaged in any teaching activities with the children. The activity in the classroom halted when I entered and then centered primarily on my looking at the children's materials.

Within the second grade classroom, I attempted to implement a similar strategy in dealing with the children that I had used when they were in kindergarten. I believe that it was successful only to the point that the teacher did not attempt to engage me in a participant role with the children. Such incidents as the trip to the park necessitated my taking the role of a participant in the activities of the children. In the second grade, the children initiated two new forms of interaction with me: requests for assistance with their assignments and for mediation in disputes. When the children would ask for assistance, I would attempt to discuss the problem with them and note alternative solutions, but I never gave answers. Likewise, I attempted to handle disputes in as non-directive a fashion as possible. I did not side with any one child or group of children against another and tried to avoid being put in the position where one child could say to another, "Mr. Rist said so."

With the School Administration

Interaction with the two different principals that served the school during the time in which this study was conducted was neither as continuous nor as informal as that with the teachers. The principal, Mr. Miller, who was at the school when the study first began was a pleasant and cordial middle aged man. Because he did not have an assistant principal as did his successor, he did not have the time available for informal conversation. He did consent to three one-hour interviews. Initial contact with the principal was made two days before the beginning of the school year in 1967. He had anticipated my coming, for both the district superintendent and the project director had contacted him concerning my presence in the school. He seemed quite agreeable to having me in the school, though it is uncertain whether he could have forbidden my entrance should he have desired to do so.

Two days before school began in the fall of 1969, I went to the school to meet the new principal, Mr. Elder. After I mentioned the kindergarten teacher's name, Mr. Elder indicated that he knew her well and that if I had been working with her, he was sure there would be no difficulty in my coming to the school.[1] I found that during the summer of 1969, Mr. Miller, who had been principal the previous two years, had been transferred to another elementary school in the school district. Mr. Elder (a younger man in his middle thirties) had been assigned as the new principal of Attucks school and, had been given an assistant principal, Mr. Simone. When I arrived at the school, I found that Mr. Elder had received no indication that I was to observe in the school and appeared uncertain as to what function I served in the classroom. I explained my presence in the school for the previous two years and indicated that I had spent a great deal of time with the kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Caplow. It was at the mention of Mrs. Caplow's name that his approach to me changed noticeably. As was the case with my first meeting with the second grade teacher, it was my acquaintance with the kindergarten teacher that was critical in my initial acceptance.

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[1] My situation was somewhat analogous to that faced by William Whyte in his attempt to meet the Norton Street Gang. It was through Doc that he gained entre, not only to the gang, but to a number of other activities within the community. I did not consider the kindergarten teacher as a "key informer," but it was apparent that although she had little interaction with the other teachers, she was highly respected within the school. Likewise, she had numerous contacts in other schools within the city, due both to her long years within the system and to the fact that her mother had taught in the same school system for more than thirty years. Thus it was my previous association with the kindergarten teacher that was crucial to my initial acceptance by the new principal and second grade teacher. I had perceived quite early in my first year at the school that by merely informing a questioning teacher that I was working with Mrs. Caplow in the kindergarten, my legitimacy in the school was established.

It should be noted that there was no conscious selection on my part of Mrs. Caplow as the teacher within the school where the study should begin. It was merely coincidence that she was the kindergarten teacher. Had she been in another grade and I observing, for example, a new teacher in her first year of teaching, I would have had to legitimate my presence in the school by more objective criteria, i.e. "university researcher." As it was, her informal contacts throughout and beyond the school provided me with a degree of legitimation that could not have been achieved through letters of introducation or phone calls from the district office. As was the case with Whyte, initial legitimation with members of the group was not achieved by formal criteria, but by acquaintance with a key member of the group who vouched for the researcher.

My informal contact with the new principal, Mr. Elder, was more frequent than with the previous principal, Mr. Miller. With an assistant principal to assume some of the bureaucratic duties, Mr. Elder was able to spend time talking with the teachers and myself in the teachers' lounge, perhaps over a cup of coffee. Soon after school began in the fall, the principal announced that the teachers would try to organize a volleyball team to play against faculty from other elementary schools in the district. I volunteered to play. When the schedule of practices was announced, I was unable to come due to a teaching commitment at the university, but I believe my willingness to join the team impressed him. Shortly thereafter, he began to ask me to have coffee with him after the morning recess. He would spend nearly every recess on the playground with the children and then go to the lounge for coffee. We discussed a number of issues during these short chats. On several occasions he sought information from me concerning matters at Attucks School. When on one occasion he asked whether I knew of any recordings of black poetry, I supplied him with an appropriate address. On another occasion he asked whether I had any ideas on how to spend $1600.00 for the junior high grades in the school, as he was in the process of developing a proposal to submit for some surplus funds that were available in his district. I suggested the establishment of individual black studies centers in each of the rooms with records, books, magazines, newspapers and a noteboard. He thought the idea was valid and asked if I would be willing to provide him with titles of books and records along with addresses of companies supplying them. I complied with his request, and, as a result, the school was awarded the money for the centers shortly before Christmas.

With Special Service Personnel

During the length of the study, interaction with special service personnel was very limited. Little interaction occurred with any of them other than my observations of their sessions with the children. During the first year of the study, the kindergarten children were taken to the library as part of the teacher's plan to introduce them to all the activities of the school; and at that time, I met the librarian. When the children began second grade, they were allowed, for the first time, a half-hour library period each week. I observed six of these library periods and spoke briefly with the librarian during several of these visits, but I did not visit with her at any other time.

The speech teacher spent a half-hour period each week with the kindergarten children for the first semester of the school year. I was often present in the room during these lessons and was introduced to her. Our interaction, however, was so limited that she, I am sure, never learned my name. When the children reached second grade, the speech teacher did not come to the room for lessons, but rather took only the two children in the class who had some speech impediment and spent one-half hour per week with them.

The medical personnel visited the school very infrequently. The nurse was at the school one afternoon per week and the doctor was present only to administer injections. I first met the nurse when she was working with the doctor giving injections; I again met her when she came to test the children's eyes and again to check for scalp infections. The only time I met her during the second grade year was as she checked the children for scalp infections.

The social worker at the school was met only once during the study. During this meeting, I conferred with her on several of the families that I had visited. I also asked her to relate the school policies concerning children from families on some form of public assistance. The social worker was seldom at the school since she had no office there and she was assigned to five schools simultaneously. She stated that her case load was always above three hundred children.

With the Parents

At the school, I was able to meet parents of children I was observing in one of four ways. First, several of the mothers were members of the school Parent-Teacher Association. I attended the meetings which were held once a month and was introduced to the mothers present by either the kindergarten teacher or later by the second grade teacher.

Most often I would speak with them for a short while at the end of the meeting while refreshments were being served. After being introduced, I would attempt to explain my reason for being at the school. Most of the parents appeared pleased that I was in the classroom and several stated that they hoped I would find ways to help their children "learn better."

A second manner in which I met parents was through special school programs in which the kindergarten or second grade participated. Most often, only mothers would come during the day for such programs as those at Thanksgiving, Christmas and May Day. Many of the same mothers who attended the Parent Teacher Association also attended the programs though the two groups were not entirely overlapping.

When the kindergarten class had parties or when Mrs. Caplow took the children on field trips, she would ask several mothers of children in the class to aid her. The kindergarten teacher most often asked the same mothers repeatedly. No mothers were asked to help with either parties or field trips whom I had not met at either school programs or at Parent-Teacher Association meetings. In the second grade, Mrs. Benson did not ask any mothers to accompany her on the field trips, but one mother did help with the Halloween party. This mother was employed but on her vacation, and she volunteered to come to the party.

The final manner in which I came into contact with parents at the school was quite by chance. For example, a parent would occasionally come to pick up the child from school when it was raining or very cold. Also, I met two mothers who, when visiting their other children in the school, decided to see the kindergarten or second grade teacher also. Several times parents came to the room to bring lunch money to the child or bring a library book that was due.

111. OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL: HOME VISITS

After I had been in the kindergarten classroom for six weeks, I asked the teacher if she would select four children whom I could observe more closely. I asked that two of the children be those whom she thought were doing well in the kindergarten class and two whom she thought were doing poorly. The criteria for the selection of the four children was deliberately vague since it is assumed that the teacher's evaluation was the critical factor in determining the experience of the child in the classroom. The teacher selected one boy and one girl for each of the two categories. The boy and girl selected as doing well were both only children in unbroken families where the father and mother were employed and combined earnings were above $12,000 per year. The two children selected as doing poorly were from incomplete families where the mother and children were supported by welfare funds. In the boy's family there were six children, and the family of the girl, there were eleven children.

From the work of such men as Deutsch (1964, 1967), Riessman (1962) and Bruner (1960, 1964) among others, there is strong evidence indicating that the learning processes of the child in the home are not dissimilar nor divorced from the learning processes utilized by the child in the school. Their work would indicate that the child does not learn of himself and his world through dicotomized and sporatic experiences in the home and the school, but that learning is a continuous and integrated process. The claim made by John Dewey (1952), the progressive educator, was that the most effective learning situation for the child would be one where the school and home provided the child with congruent learning patterns and stimuli. It is a major goal of this study to explore the learning patterns utilized by the children in both the home and the classrooms and to determine what relationships between these two milieus may exist. Attention will also focus on whether there appear differential relationships for children from dissimilar home environments. To this end, thirty-nine visits were made in the homes of the four children from the kindergarten class. Eighteen visits were in the homes of the two children described by the teacher as doing well while the remaining twenty-one visists were in the homes of the two children described as doing poorly. The length of the visits ranged from fifteen minutes to four hours.

Arrangements for the visits were first made by the kindergarten teacher who called three of the mothers involved and asked if they would allow me to come to their homes and visit with them and talk about how their children were doing in school. All three mothers consented and the first visit was then arranged by myself. The fourth mother was not reached by the teacher and thus I simply walked the child home one day, introduced myself to the mother, explained my desire to talk about the experience of the child in school and asked if I might come back on another date. The mother was agreeable and the visit arranged.

With the Children

In the homes of the two children defined as doing well, interaction with the single child could be much more frequent and continuous than in the homes of the children defined as doing poorly. With the boy designated as doing well, I was occasionally left alone with him for brief periods of time, in which we could talk about school and his friends. With the girl in the same category, however, the mother was always present. This is not to imply that I was unable to talk with the child, but rather that the conversation always involved a triad. Observation of the interaction of these two children with their friends or peers was only sporadic, at best. The boy was allowed outside on occasion, but the parents had a fear of the neighborhood and did not like their son to associate with other children in the neighborhood. The same was true for the girl. She was infrequently observed with two other girls from the kindergarten class who lived on her block. Peer group observations for these two children were primarily during recess periods at school.

For the two children designated by the teacher as doing poorly, the situation was quite reversed. Not only were the two always observed amidst a number of other children, both siblings and friends, but they also spent a good deal of time outside and moved freely to the grocery store and filling stations nearby. On no occasion was I able with either of these two children to have the long talks I had with the boy doing well.

At different times I took all of the children on trips in my car. We visited such places as the airport, several neighborhood ball games, my office at the university, my apartment and an ice cream store.
All my visits to the homes were entirely informal. No notes were made during any of the visits except for one short interview that I had with each of the mothers after I had made several visits to their homes. I

ate several meals with the various families and participated in other activities such as raking the yard, playing baseball and watching television. There was no pre-arranged schedule as to when I would visit the children, but I would attempt to arrange each forthcoming visit either at the home or by telephone. It was not until near the end of the school year that I felt I could visit the homes, if pecessary, unannounced.

With the Adults

Although a major purpose of the home visits was to observe the child with his peers and siblings, it was no less a purpose to observe the child in interaction with adults. I came into contact with a number of adults during the various visits including grandparents, uncles and aunts, boy friends of the mothers and older daughters, fellow church members and neighborhood friends. To all the adults whom I met and spoke for any length of time I explained by presence in the home as one who was interested in the education of children, but wanted to learn more about children outside the classroom. Some of those with whom I talked were quite pleasant and friendly while others responded with suspicion and hostility. I felt it necessary to introduce myself to every adult whom I met for the first time. I did this for I did not want unwarrented suspicion to be centered on the family with my visits mistakenly interpreted as those of a probation officer, truant officer, insurance agent or welfare investigator. One of the mothers appeared especially grateful that I did introduce myself to each new adult I met in her home for she was able to say little else about me other than

I was "at the school with the kids."

Besides the short questionnaire that I administered to each of the mothers, numerous informal conversations focused on the child and his performance in the school. I also discussed what they perceived as the value of an education for their children and what goals in life they had for them. Other conversations also focused on such topics as the professional baseball team in the city, fishing spots nearby, the gardens in several of the backyards, and the difficulties with the police in the black community.

I have referred primarily to my conversations with the mothers in each of the homes. This has not been because there were no males present, but rather because they engaged in a phenomena Henry termed the "vanishing male" syndrome. It was very seldom during my visits to the households that there was not some male present, either father, grandfather, or mother's boy friend. Yet interaction with these men was quite infrequent. Often they would leave the room when I came and I would not see them again during the visit. If they did remain, they participated very seldom in the conversation unless on topics related to sports.

It must be noted that as my relationships with the four families developed, I engaged in certain activities with them and the children in particular that I did not do with the remainder of the class. Though I gave all the students in the class a small Christmas present, I took bags of groceries to the two families that were on welfare. I also gave Easter baskets to all the children in these two families. Furthermore I sent each of the four children a birthday card. One of the mothers who was on welfare spent several days collecting all the rubbish around her home in three large piles. She did not have the money, however, to have it removed so I contracted a hauler to remove the trash. For another mother, I collected a packet of information on a job position she wanted to qualify for through enrollment at a job training center. I was also able to supply both of the welfare homes with a set of children's dictionaries which I bought, and for one home I also secured a set of children's encyclopedias which were donated. After a trip, I brought picture postcards of jet airplanes to each of the children in all four homes. On another occasion, I was able to secure the same pictures for the entire class.

IV. METHODS OF COLLECTING AND RECORDING DATA

The variety of methods utilized within this study for the collection and recording of data may be subsumed within four major categories. The first consisted of the systematic, first-hand, written accounts of various activities and interactions. These accounts, within the context of the classroom, sought to note the participants in the interaction, the approximate time of the interaction, the tone of voice of those who spoke, significant gestures of those present, as well as those who were not participating in the classroom activities. I believe there was as much significance in noting those children that were withdrawn from the classroom activities as in noting those who actively participated. The handwritten accounts were transcribed onto tape from which they were typed as protocols. At the end of the majority of the observations, there was a short section listing my impressions of and interpretive insights into the activities and interactions. Besides the classroom, this same procedure of a continuous handwritten account was followed with reference to note taking at the Parent-Teacher Association meetings.

The second major area of data collection consisted of the variety of interviews conducted with principals, teachers, special service personnel, parents, and children. The interviews were completed at various times throughout the period of the study and often several interviews were conducted with a single individual. As the questions were asked from a pre-established interview schedule, written notes of the responses were made in the presence of the respondent.

Notes dictated by myself after the occurrence of an event comprised the third major area of data collected. During a variety of activities in which I participated, it was not possible to take field notes as the behavior progressed. I was unable to take notes on field trips, during informal conversations with the teachers or principal in the lounge or in the halls, during home visits with the parents and children or when I was on the playground with the children. I consider these notes not to have the completeness or the accuracy of the handwritten accounts, but rather that they are only as accurate and complete as my memory and biases permitted.

The final major source of data may be termed "general documents." Included within this category are, for example, report card grades, samples of classroom materials and assignments, copies of forms for reports utilized by the teachers, children's drawings, notes to me from the children, and office memos to the teachers.

Additional brief comments need be made concerning the first and third methods of data collection. Whether from notes as the behavior occurred or as I remembered the behavior, I found that it was most important to record the material onto tape as soon as possible after the observation had ended. Especially when I was unable to make notes during the observation of an activity, I experienced a "fading" of the observation and realized I could not recall all that I thought at the time of the observation would be important to note. To speak about or discuss the observation before I was able to record it also noticeably hindered my ability to remember significant occurrences when I had been unable to make notes. By speaking with as few persons as possible before the recording was complete, I tried to keep at a minimum the distortion and forgetting of data.

This study, then, results from a variety of strategies of data collection: systematic non-participant observations in the classroom and at Parent-Teacher Association meetings; informal observations during participant observation on the playground, in the teachers' lounge, on field trips, in the home and on car rides; structured interviews with a variety of respondents; and the accumulation of general documents relating to the school, the classroom and the child.

A basic assumption underlies my selection of direct observation of human behavior as the primary research strategy employed in this study. Succinctly, I believe that human behavior, to be more fully understood, must be observed firsthand. Granted that the problems of bias or preconception may be critical to the interpretation given the data, nevertheless, there will exist an account of the behavior relatively independent of the interpretations drawn from that account. As

Malinowski noted, "Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of a scientific thinker." Direct observation of human behavior, I believe, is ultimately the only method that can provide the social scientist with the technique to achieve maximum explanatory capability related to the behavioral phenomena he studies.

Such an approach is not without its problems and disadvantages. As noted by Malinowski, the presence of preconceived ideas held by the investigator may distort the findings and interpretations to such a degree that they no longer reflect the original observed behavior. Related is the problem of selective perception in what one observes. It has been well documented that individuals often see in a social situation what it is that they wish to see or what they deem important and salient to themselves (Bartlett, 1932; Pepitone, 1949; and Thibaut and Riecken, 1955). When observing in the classrooms reported in this study, thirty-one individuals were engaged in a variety of behavioral and interactional patterns of activity. My perceptions were necessarily limited to only certain segments of the total behavioral stream occurring in the room. Thus while focusing on one activity, many others were inadvertently left unobserved. The problem may be even further reduced to the point that within one behavioral segment, it was most likely that not all the words, gestures, and expressions could be noted. Again, my perceptions as well as the physical limitations of hand writing speed negated the possibility of totally documenting all behavior within the classroom.

A second limitation on the methods employed in the present study is that without "all day, every day" presence in the classroom, I observed only segments of what was a continuous process occurring seven hours daily, five days per week. When entering the room for an observational period, I did not always know what had happened earlier in the school day (or even the previous day) that may have effected the behavior and patterns of activity occurring in the room. Situational anticedent causal factors were unknown which may have directly impinged on the observed segment of class life. Thus the need for continuous visits to the class in order to gain over time a perspective of what constituted the "typical" or "normal" classroom milieu for the children and teacher alike.

A third limitation, though of a categorically different level than the two discussed above, was the promise of anonymity to all those whom I observed and interviewed. Thus I was continually forced to evaluate the use of a particular method in light of whether it would insure protection to those involved. This consideration necessarily resulted in the loss of important data in at least two forms. The first was the necessity of not utilizing data that had been collected, but which would have given strong clues as to the identity of the respondent involved. Secondly, the constraints of anonymity forced me not to pursue areas of investigation that appeared to be significant to the study. In stating to all respondents that they would remain unidentified, I also noted that they need not fear me submitting any report of the findings from the study to either the Board of Education or the District Superintendent. Given this commitment, for example, I decided to forego examination of the evaluation records kept on each of the teachers in the district superintendent's office. Though the examination of the records in themselves would have caused no problems, a casual mention on the part of someone in the district office to the teachers at Attucks School that I have examined their files may have created suspicion and fear that could have irretrievably damaged our relationships.

Considerations of time and replication appear to be a fourth area of limitations applicable to the methods employed in this study. The variable of time may be viewed as a handicap for should one attempt to replicate findings that have been accumulating for more than two years, it would appear that such a length of time would again be necessary for the adequate observation of a similar group. To attempt to replicate findings of long term studies with short term methods would appear to do an injustice to the original research. Likewise, there is no guarantee that the replication could be of an identical group, in this instance, classrooms in urban black schools. One could attempt to achieve a high degree of similarity; absolute reproduction appears impossible.

A fifth limitation which may be considered in relation to the methods employed within the study is the effect of "masking" of behavior of the observed due to the presence of the observer. Talbert (1970) contends that in the presence of white researchers, blacks may employ a number of adaptive strategies that in effect camouflage their true beliefs and attitudes. She notes:

> By way of concrete illustration, it might be asked whether the majority of descriptions of Black parents and children are not more than descriptions of their adaptation to the presence of a white middle-class professional, a condescending interviewer, or an unenlightned "do-gooder". One can ask what in a Black child's past experience with members of the white majority class would motivate him to vulnerability and expression of his inner feelings? Why should a Black mother, already experienced with the welfare office and the police department, have any trust in a researcher who visits once or twice a week with the promise of alleviation of educational problems. The answer is of course that there is little reason for trust or sharing of confidences and there is a great likelihood of the obtaining of information which only serves to support the already existing stereotypes of the ghetto family.

There appears no way in which Talbert's position can clearly be refuted other than by noting that over time, relations were built with the families and children which, I believe, did allow for the exchange of confidences and attitudes. As a second comment on Talbert's position, there is assumed that persons can indefinitely over time continue to mask their feelings, beliefs and attitudes, regardless of time of day, presence of other adults, or location of meeting. This has yet to be substantiated.

V. METHODS OF ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

As noted by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the development of theory should arise from a process of research. They argue that this procedure has decided advantages over the more conventional method of logicodeductiveness. They state that "theory based on data can usually not be refuted by more data or replaced by another theory" and also that the development of a theory "grounded" in the research data "can help to forestall the opportunistic use of theories that have dubious fit and working capacity." My own position is quite similar. This is not to say that the study of the educational experience of the black child was not begun without certain notions and assumptions. The most basic assumption with which the study began was that urban public education was not fulfilling its responsibilities to the black community. For example, not only the popular literature, (Hentoff, 1966) but such well documented and scholarly works as the Coleman Report (1966) indicated that the black student was not progressing or achieving at the same rate as his white counterpart. Yet the present study was undertaken with the conviction that not enough was known about the educational experience of the children involved. The examination of the process of education for the urban black child has received only sporadic attention from the research endeavors of both educators and sociologists.

Though there were several generally acknowledged assumptions when the research began, there existed no formally developed theory that the field work sought to verify. Rather, the conceptual development and hypothesis formation emerged from analysis of the data itself. This process occurred in several stages. As certain events occurred within the classrooms, some with patterned regularity and others only sporadically, hypothesis were developed to explain the observed behavior. Likewise, believed just as significant were the hypothesis developed to explain behavior that was absent from the classrooms. For example, there was noted the absence of children defined as "slow learners" from classroom discussion, from verbal one-to-one interaction with the teacher, and from linguistic interaction utilizing Standard American English.

As a second step in the data analysis, the initial hypotheses were re-examined and subjected to further field observations. At this stage, the hypothesis was either refined and modified or else simply disregarded as unplausible. In the third stage, an attempt was made to formulate several theoretical positions based on the various previously examined hypotheses. The final stage involved the attempt to interrelate the various positions into a coherent statement of the educational experience of the black child.

The strategy outlined above for the analysis of the data, I believe, is consistent with the procedure advocated by Glaser and Strauss. Direct observation of black children in their classrooms, in their homes, and with their friends served as the basis for the development of theoretical constructs, not for the legitimation of constructs previously deduced. To date, there simply is not enough theory related to the experience of black children in urban public schools to conduct studies in replication to test for validity. I stress the word "experience" to differentiate the study of process from that of experimental studies which have sought to raise I.Q., increase reading comprehension, widen cultural experiences and induce motivation to remain in school. There is a fundamental distinction between these studies dealing with abstracted variables and the study of the day-by-day experiences of the child within the classroom.

As Glaser and Strauss indicate, theory that emerges from "the ground up" is much more likely to "make sense and be understandable to the people working in the substantive area" (p. 239). Thus within the social sciences, utilization of direct observation by the researcher becomes important for at least two major reasons. First, he does not have to rely on secondary data to elucidate the human behavior he seeks to understand. Secondly, he is then in the position to describe the realities of that observation in a relevant fashion to those "working in the substantive area." An important contribution of a study such as this would be, if successful, to narrow the gap between obtuse theoretical generalities and the realities of the classroom situation for those involved in the study of the classroom experience of children to provide to the practitioners insights and interpretations that are both appropriate and understandable.

VI. NOTES ON BEING A WHITE RESEARCHER IN A BLACK COMMUNITY

It would be both foolhardy and naive to deny that there were not problems related to me as a white man in conducting research in a black community. Though I at no time encountered overt violence due to my skin color, I was involved in several situations where the threat of violence was not far removed. More often, difficulties were of a more subtle nature and manifested themselves in the form of suspicion, guarded conversation, and indications on several occasions during home visits that my presence was tension-provoking for the family. There is no way of knowing directly how race affected my interactions with various individuals involved in this study. The question also remains unanswered as to what influence, if any, my social class position may have had on the activities of respondents. Basically the question is one of whether it was my race or social class position as a university researcher that created situations of tension and suspicion. My opinion is that both race and class contributed to the difficulties I encountered.[2]

It was very difficult to discern what impact my presence as a white university researcher had on the classrooms I observed. The teachers had no choice but to accept my presence in their classrooms. They did, of course, have the choice as to what degree they would cooperate with me. I believe that the friendliness of the kindergarten teacher was due to several factors, not the least of which was her rather kind disposition. I also attempted to explain at the very beginning of our acquaintance my purpose in the classroom, adding that she did not have to fear reports to either the principal or the District Superintendent. Though it may be expected that teachers do not like to be observed, I have no indication that the kindergarten teacher was particularly adverse to my presence. On one occasion she did mention that she was pleased to see that I was interested in problems of education. The second grade teacher also was very pleasant and cooperative throughout my stay in her classroom. She willingly completed a series of evaluations on each of the children by means of a list of items, each to be scored on a continuum. With both teachers I am certain that professional constraints would have inhibited overt expressions of dissatisfaction with my presence. Their professional interests in teaching were probably positive factors that enabled them to view my presence not solely on the personal evaluative level, but as a university sponsored research program to learn more of the educational experience of children. In my discussions with them of the study, I constantly emphasized my concern with the children as opposed to a concern with their teaching techniques. It must be acknowledged that the teachers may have--either consciously or unconsciously--attempted to modify their classroom behavior in the presence of the researcher. An underlying assumption of this research was, however, that with the numerous observations made in each of the teacher's classrooms, strong beliefs and behavioral patterns could not be disguised continually over long periods of time.

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[2] A fellow black male researcher indicated in informal conversation that he also had encountered some suspicion during home visits. There is most likely a generalized suspicion of lower class blacks, especially those on public welfare, to any male who may resemble the law, the welfare agency, or any number of other individuals who make profits off the poor in the ghetto through life insurance, door-to-door sales or various illicit activities.

An atmosphere of cooperative friendliness was present at two of the homes visited for the first time. I was received cordially in the homes of the two children described by the teacher as doing well in school. In both of these homes the families' social class position was definitely in the middle range with both parents employed and both mothers having had college experience. Conversations were quite pleasant and food was offered on the first visit at both homes. During the course of the school year, relations with these two families remained quite cordial. Between the two families, I was offered cocktails, meals, given Christmas presents, invited to church gatherings and introduced to many of their personal friends.

The first visit to each of the homes of the two children defined by the teacher as doing poorly were quite striking in contrast to those described above. The kindergarten teacher had been able to contact both of the mothers of the children doing well and one of the two mothers of the children doing poorly. I was subsequently able to make arrangements for my first visit to the homes. The visit with one mother of a child doing poorly whom I had previously contacted began quite well. We spoke for approximately fifteen minutes discussing my role at the school and my interest in children and how they learn. I had also discussed with the mother how her child was adjusting to kindergarten and whether he liked going to school.

> It was only a very short time after I had finished discussing these questions with Brad's mother that a young black man entered the apartment. As he entered, he almost completely ignored me and said to Brad's mother, "Hey baby, look here what I got for you." He pulled a five dollar bill from his pocket and gave it to Brad's mother. At this point he said to her, "What this guy doin' here?" She explained that I was from the school and that I had come by to see how Brad was doing in school. This man then became very belligerent and suspicious in his comments to me. He asked a large number of questions like how old I was, where I came from, where I went to school, who were some of my teachers, why was I coming by Brad's mother's house, what was I doing being interested in Brad and many more. It was the third degree in interrogation. I tried to answer the questions as completely as I could in hopes of alleviating his suspicions. After questioning me, he went and stood in a corner of the room near Brad's mother. (11/30/67)

At this point the man, whom I later learned was the brother of Brad's mother, became very silent. I then continued to speak with the mother. We talked a short time longer about Brad's papers that he had brought home from school.

> As I spoke with Brad's mother, the uncle walked over to me and asked my name. I responded. He then said, 'Rist, get your case. We leavin'.' I asked, 'Where do we plan to go?' He responded in a rather harsh voice, 'We goin' down my house.' I commented that I was not yet finished talking with Brad's mother and possibly I might stop by

> his home later in the afternoon. He ignored this comment and again insisted that I accompany him to his home.

It was apparent that I would be unable to continue the conversation any longer with the mother. Her brother was so insistent that I accompany him that had I refused, I suspect he would have attempted to physically force me to leave the home. With the mother and children not having a father in the home, the mother's brother appeared to be both partial provider and protector. To necessarily legitimate myself with the mother and children, it was first necessary to be subjected to scrutiny by the protector. Had I refused to accompany her brother, not only might I have been forced out of the home, but I also would most likely not have been allowed to return. It must also be noted that the sister at no point spoke against her brother's insisting I leave her home. I did go to his home and spoke with him for more than forty-five minutes. He related to me that he had seen his sister's family slowly disintegrate and did not want anyone taking advantage of her and the children. During the conversation in his home, he was more relaxed and did not appear nearly as belligerent or suspicious. In fact, at one point he offered a beer which I accepted. After the visit with the brother, I was received quite warmly at the home of the sister for the remainder of the school year. I met the brother again on only two occasions. The process of legitimation had to precede that of familiarization.

The second family of a child defined by the teacher as doing poorly could not be contacted prior to my first visit. Thus one afternoon, I walked home with the child in order to introduce myself. Near the home the child ran ahead and entered before I reached the door.

> I knocked on the door and as I did, I heard a large amount of loud shouting and cursing inside the home. At first I was hesitant to knock again, but I did. After my second knock the noise inside subsided and Lilly came and looked through the window. She looked at me and then turned back. I knocked for the third time. Lilly came and opened the door. She then ran back into the living room. I called out, 'Hi, Lilly.' The mother responded, 'Who there?' I then entered the apartment and introduced myself and explained my presence in the school and my desire to learn more about children outside the classroom. Also, I met immediately upon entering the room very cold hostility from a middle-aged man sitting on the couch. He had seated next to him on the floor a fifth of whisky that was nearly empty. As I entered, he stood, put the bottle in his pocket and turned to face the wall so I would not see his face. (11/28/67)

Being somewhat taken aback by the man simply standing and facing the wall, at first, I thought I would attempt to introduce myself to him. I decided not to and instead attempted to speak with the mother. I spoke with her for possibly five minutes and asked if Lilly was bringing papers home from school. The mother indicated that she was and that most of the papers Lilly brought home she kept.

> As I spoke with the mother, the man turned and began to stumble out of the living room and towards the kitchen. As he was leaving, he said, 'What the hell this guy want here?' Lilly's mother replied, 'Aw, shut up and git out here.' He then left the room and went into the kitchen. He returned very shortly and again asked, 'What the hell he want here?' The mother responded, 'He at the school.' The man replied, 'Well, what the shit, if you want find out how the child doin', you go talk to the teacher. There no need no one come by here to botherin' us.'

At this, I commented to the mother that I was sorry if I was imposing and that I would come back again, if she wished, at her convenience. She responded that I was welcome to come back any time to talk about

Lilly, but that she rather it not be today, for she was in the process of "cleanin' and straightnin' around." I said goodbye and left the home immediately.

My first visit to this home was unannounced and therefore unanticipated. What I believe I encountered was a fear reaction on the part of the male due to the welfare status of the mother. The presence of a man in the home of a family on welfare is grounds for the discontinuance of funds to that family. As an unknown white middle class male walking into the home, there were any number of reasons to expect that I may have appeared as a welfare investigator. Though the mother did not verbalize her anxiety, it was apparent. She seemed relieved when I indicated that I would leave.

The process of legitimation with this family, as with Brad's, was such that proof of behavior and intention were necessary. For the two middle class homes, the word of the teacher was sufficient to establish my identity. With Lilly's mother, I believe I was, in part, legitimated indirectly. That is, had I been a welfare investigator, there would have been repercussions to my visit. There were none. Thus on my second visit when there was also a man present, different from the first, the mother did not appear anxious and indicated to the man that there was no need for alarm.

Research of the type outlined in this chapter involves a number of ethical questions that must be resolved by the researcher involved. I believe that it is imperative that the social scientist seek to understand and interpret human behavior in whatever context it may occur.

Thus I have rejected two theoretical positions presently in some vogue among social scientists. The first is that social science must be conducted along racial divisions. That is, only whites should be engaged in research relating to whites and only blacks should be engaged in research related to blacks. I reject this proposition as being antithetical to the spirit of free inquiry into all aspects of human behavior among the variety of human groups. Should this first division of research responsibilities be acknowledged, there is then a basis for further reductions that would lead to the eventual paralysis of all social science investigatigation. In its extreme, this position would prohibit the research reported in this study, for not only would blacks have to study blacks, but more specifically, it could only be black children who would study one another. There is no reason, if one first accepts divisions of research along racial lines, that there then also be divisions by sex, age, geographical location, marital status, and education. There is also, I perceive, a certain quest for division of research along racial lines in order to control the flow of information about a particular group. If one is in a position to limit information available relating to an aspect of human behavior, one can selectively report that which is desirable both in terms of politics and policy. Free inquiry then is stifled for reasons of power. This I cannot accept.

The second theoretical position I have rejected is that of "research by prior experience." In its most simplistic form, this position allows only those who have had previous experience in the area to conduct the study. Thus only ex-prisoners are qualified to study prisons, only homosexuals should study other homosexuals and, within the context of this study, only those who have experienced ghetto education should be allowed to examine ghetto education. I cannot agree with this position, for experience is not the sole criteria for comprehension. Granted that those who have previous experience in a particular area may provide insights overlooked by one who had not had the experience, knowledge is developed in more than one manner. The fact of prior experience may predispose the investigator to certain biases that would result in an incomplete or inaccurate account of the behavior, such as would not occur in the account of one who had not been previously involved.

Subjectivity in social science research is inevitable, to an extent. It is the duty of the researcher to make explicit his own biases and assumptions prior to the investigation. Having done this, the investigator, whether with prior experience or not, is then able to more clearly understand the value judgments related to his study and how they may affect the results. Social science inquiry should be limited by neither social convention nor social control. Likewise neither politics nor popularity should serve as the basis for the study of human behavior. Free inquiry should remain simply that.

CHAPTER III

THE SAINT LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

1. INTRODUCTION

Though in both the academic and popular literature, increasing attention has been focused on the dynamics of the ghetto classroom, (cf. Eddy, 1967; Kontos and Murphy, 1967; Loretan and Umans, 1966; Smith and Geoffrey, 1968) scant attention has been directed towards explaining the relationships of the city school system to the individual classroom as the smallest unit in that system. The scope of most studies to date has been extremely narrow, failing to give serious consideration to the larger cultural and bureaucratic milieu of the school system and thus leaving the analysis of the classroom incomplete. To understand various aspects of the classroom experience for the child (such as racial composition of his classmates, facilities for his use, the availability of special service personnel, and the curriculum materials he reads) the influence of the larger bureaucratic structure cannot be ignored.

Within this context, the present chapter will focus on the Saint Louis school system as a source determining, in a significant manner, the activities and experiences of children within individual classrooms. Four aspects of the Saint Louis school system will be examined. The first is the response of the school system to the rapid shift in racial composition of its pupils to a predominantly black student body. The second is an analysis of the patterns of policy making within the system as well as an attempt to locate various positions of decision-making within the system. Relatedly, an assessment will be made of the degree of community participation as it affects the policies established by the Board of Education. Third, the racial isolation of the black students within the city schools will be examined. Fourth and finally, the Saint Louis school system maintains a teachers' college which alone supplied about twenty-two per cent (158 out of 716) of the new teachers incoming to the system in the 1968-69 school year (St. Louis Board of Education, 1969). Examination of the training program for the city's future teachers will be noted. In order to enhance an understanding of the position of the Saint Louis school system relative to other large urban school systems, a brief comparative analysis for the first two of the four above substantive areas will be offered. The five cities serving as the basis for comparison are Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, New York and Philadelphia. The following comparative data on these six cities, unless otherwise noted, are from Gittell and Hollander's 1967 study, Six Urban Districts.

II. INNOVATION AND CHANGE: RESPONSE TO THE NEW MAJORITY

As has been the case with a number of other northern cities, St. Louis has experienced not only a decline in population, but a dramatic shift in the composition of that population. Since 1950, St. Louis has decreased in population from nearly 850,000 to slightly less then 700,000 (Liu, 1967). In the five year period between 1960 and 1965, the total population of the city decreased by approximately 50,500. The total number of whites who left the city equaled 76,700, but there was a simultaneous increase in the black population by 26,200 (Liu, 1967). Since 1930, total population figures as well as number of white residents have displayed a downward sloping curve while the black resident population shows a continuous upward sloping curve.

The results of this population shift have been felt by the public school system. The total enrollment figures for the elementary grades increased during the five year period between 1960 and 1965 indicating the average younger age of the incoming black residents. In 1960, the total enrollment in grades 2 through 7 was 70,200 and increased to 71,900 in 1965 (Liu, 1967). The loss of 4,900 white children was offset by the increase of 6,600 black children. In the same five year period, the percentage of black children in the public school classrooms rose from 51 per cent to 60 per cent. More recent figures on the 1968-69 school year indicate that the percentage of black children has risen to 63.5 per cent, which ranks St. Louis as fifth among large cities in the nation with percentage of black students. St. Louis ranks behind Washington, D.C. (93.5).

Newark (72.5), New Orleans Parish (67.1) and Baltimore (65.1) (United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare quoted in St. Louis Post Dispatch, March 27, 1970). Of the 117,000 public school students in St. Louis in the 1968-1969 school year, approximately 74,400 were black. Of the total number of black students, nearly 33,000 lived in homes supported by funds from Aid to Dependent Children, a form of public welfare.

Though the above statistics pertain only to St. Louis, the figures could be shifted slightly and the picture that emerges would describe any one of the other five cities listed earlier. Of the five, Baltimore, Chicago and Philadelphia all have enrollments of black students equaling more than fifty per cent of the total enrollment for the city (Post Dispatch, March 27, 1970). Detroit in 1965 had an elementary school enrollment of black students equaling 55.3 percentage of the total elementary school enrollment while in New York City in 1960, twenty per cent of the elementary school enrollment were black children (United States Civil Rights Commission, 1967). Figures for the total enrollments of the two cities could not be found. As with the school enrollments for the six cities, there is little variation in the description of the population shifts experienced in the past twenty years. All six cities have experienced the out-migration of whites from the city and a nearly simultaneous in-migration of blacks. Thus in an examination of the six cities, the variations occur not in the changes themselves, for all have been highly similar, but in the differing responses these cities have made to the changes. An analysis of the responses by the six cities to both the decrease in white enrollment and increase in black enrollment follows.

Gittell and Hollander (1967) state that a strong indicator of a school system's willingness to innovate in the face of changes in the composition of its student body, and more fundamentally, changes in the very character of the community, is whether that system will allow independent studies of the system and its policies. The implimentation of planning reports submitted by both independent agencies and citizen committees would give an indication, note Gittell and

Hollander, of the system's concern with special problems facing its new majority and the desire on the part of the Board of Education to meet the changed situation with systematic and logical procedures.

As noted by Gittell and Hollander, New York City appeared to be the most studied of the six cities surveyed (cf. Office of the City Administrator, 1959; Schinnerer, 1961). They indicated, however, that the school board members have repeatedly announced the acceptance of a large number of innovative programs for the city schools, but at a later date rescinded the acceptance. Thus New York City has presented a misleading picture to the public in that one is constantly informed of new programs to be implemented in the schools but left uninformed of the cancellation of these same programs shortly thereafter. Until 1967, the city of New York had not had an over-all independent study of the school system and the quality of educational programs offered within its schools. Likewise, the board has discouraged the formation of broad-based citizen committees to investigate and appraise the board of various problems. Since 1967, however, a major study of the school system has been initiated with a primary goal of developing alternative means for the decentralization of the governing authority over local schools (Bundy, 1967).

The Detroit Board of Education, in contrast to that of New York, has encouraged a number of study groups and has continually attempted to implement these report findings wherever possible (Citizens' Advisory Committee on School Needs, 1958; Citizens' Advisory Committee, 1962; Citizen's Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, 1965:

Citizens for Education, 1966). As early as 1957, eight regional community boards were established throughout the city to outline the goals, objectives and methods of implementation desired by the citizens in each of the eight areas. Gittell and Hollander note (1967, p. 11):

> Detroit continues to use citizens' advisory committees to adjust the system gradually, but consistently. The committee reports continue to be referred to as an overall plan for change.

Baltimore had attempted to follow the pattern set by Detroit by which citizens' reports become a strong basis for innovation within the system. But after a report critical of the school system was submitted in 1964, (Citizens' School Advisory Committee, 1964) the Board of Education largely ignored the findings. All pretense of attempts to implement various innovative projects suggested in the report was halted in 1967 when the Board withdrew financial support from the program committee, the key committee established for the implementation of findings (cf. Gittell and Hollander).

After the election of a new Board chairman in Philadelphia in 1962, a number of independent studies were undertaken (School District of Philadelphia, 1964, 1966a, 1966b). None of the studies, however, involved community participation. Three years later, another new Board of Education president was elected and he also formed a number of study committees. The series of three ad hoc committees that he established submitted reports that have become the basis for a number of significant changes in administrative duties, fiscal management and community participation (Reports of the Task Forces to the Incoming Board of Education, 1965).

Though the Board of Education in Chicago authorized Robert Havighurst in 1961 to conduct an intensive survey of the school system (Havighurst, 1964), the findings have been largely ignored and lost amidst rivalries between school board members, the superintendent of schools and the staff conducting the study. Since this authorization, the board has neither granted nor encouraged further study of the school system by citizens' groups or independent organizations.

St. Louis appears to be the least studied of the six cities surveyed. Outside examination of the school system has been discouraged. Rather, the board has relied on internal staff papers and studies by individual board members as the basis for change and innovation. A citizens' committee met with the Board of Education in 1963 and from this meeting emerged a report which the board implemented in a very limited fashion. The major implementation which occurred as a result of this report was the expansion of the ungraded primary system which had begun in the city in 1959. The general pattern of analysis of the school system followed by the Board of Education was noted by Gittell and Hollander (1967):

> Staff studies led to the present integration policy, adopted in 1964, which, though it emphasizes the neighborhood schools, provides bussing from core schools to reduce overcrowding. A 1964 study by a community group has been largely ignored by the board. A recent study by the Chamber of Commerce has led to the establishment of a board committee to study the problem. The board in St. Louis has neither encouraged nor sponsored independent researchers or community groups.

A recent example of this same pattern was noted by a city newspaper in an article indicating the Board's unwillingness to consider the recommendations of a Community Study Conference established in 1969.

Concerning the 107 recommendations submitted to the Board for consideration, the chairman of the Board of Education is quoted as commenting, "Why there's absolutely no unanimity of opinion in this report. It contradicts itself. The recommendations are too short to be helpful. I just don't think there is an awful lot to it." A second unidentified board member commented, "I frankly don't think they're worth a damn. And I sincerely doubt whether it will provide us with much guidance. I'm sick and tired of getting blasted by people who make it seem as if we've never considered any of these things before." Directors of the Conference defended the report and indicated that they knew that there were proposals within the report that made contradictory statements. Nevertheless, they indicated that the contradictions were left in the report to "show the diversity of opinion in the community" (St. Louis Post Dispatch, January 18, 1970).

Innovation and Response

A second major indicator of a school system's willingness to respond to its new majority of low-income students may be measured by the extent of the programs initiated for those students and the time at which they were begun. It is not as though the members of the various Boards of Education could not know of the changes in their community, for census data from 1950 and 1960 indicate clearly that significant changes had occurred in the characteristics of the urban population. The critical time period for the six cities has not been since 1966, but rather the period of the prior twenty years. The recent occurrence of urban violence and radical militancy has only brought into sharper focus the presence of conditions that have been growing for at least two decades (cf. Rist, 1969). It thus would seem profitable to examine the scope and effectiveness of programs in the cities mentioned prior to the violence and militancy of the past few years to determine what responses were being made when the pressure for innovation was much less. All of the six cities have instituted significant programs within the past thirty-six months to meet the changed conditions of their schools. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville experiment in New York City and the Parkway project in Philadelphia are but two of the more publicized of recent projects.

Very few are the early programs of the six cities that cannot be attributed directly to the stimulus of federal aid. Perhaps the most significant program established independent of federal aid and on a nation wide basis was the "Great Cities" program began in 1957 and included fourteen of the nations's largest urban school districts. The basic assumption guiding the formation of these programs was that the special problems of children with "limited backgrounds" could be met by the development of educational programs designed to meet their "special needs." Innovation was suggested in school organization, utilization of personnel, curriculum materials, and involvement of parents and community organizations (Marburger, 1963).

Detroit was the first to establish Great Cities schools in 1959. The programs at the three schools included in-service teacher training, team teaching, curriculum modification, nongraded primary grades, tuition-free summer school sessions, longer library hours and attempts at community participation. The program was expanded to include twelve schools in 1960 (cf. Brownell, the Detroit Board of Education, 1966). Chicago began the project in 1961 with twenty-six classes in eleven schools involved. Philadelphia began in 1960 with six elementary schools and one junior high school. New York City limited its early participation to a summer school program begun in 1964. Baltimore began a special reading program in fourteen of its schools in 1960. St. Louis was not one of the original fourteen Great Cities school systems. It had, however, begun the ungraded primary school in 1959 on an experimental basis and extended it gradually until it included all city elementary schools.

Aside from the single program in the Great Cities schools in Detroit, none of the six city school systems prior to 1965 had any special programs designed to increase in-service training of teachers. While one area of innovation for most other major urban school districts during the decades of 1950 and 1960 was the formation of kindergarten classes, St. Louis had founded the first public school kindergarten in the nation in 1894. The use of school volunteers has been another area of innovation that has been utilized by some cities and ignored by others. New York began an experimental program in 1956, and by 1963 there were 1,000 volunteers among twenty schools. Philadelphia began in 1963 to recruit volunteers and soon expanded to 1,100 volunteers in sixty schools. Detroit began in 1964 and in two years had over 3,000 volunteers in 137 schools. Baltimore, Chicago, and St. Louis have all either established small and insignificant programs or else simply ignored this alternative.

To meet the increased overcrowding of ghetto schools, Chicago and St. Louis built schools to relieve the crowding, but these schools were located in such a manner as to preclude integration based on residency. Philadelphia has had a policy of replacement of obsolete school buildings, but this has not contributed significantly to alleviating the overcrowding of the existing schools. Baltimore and St. Louis have also utilized the bussing of black children into less crowded white schools. In St. Louis, there were more than 4,000 children bussed in the first year of the program. The number has steadily declined in recent years as the pace of school construction in the ghetto has increased. New York had implemented an Open Enrollment policy for children in segregated schools, but the number of children participating is not nearly enough to relieve the extremely crowded conditions in many of the schools. Detroit adopted a policy on overcrowding in 1961 which included an Open Enrollment policy for certain groups of students and bussing on a limited scale. The effect of these alternatives has been negligible, according to Gittell and Hollander.

Though federal aid to the city school systems has had a short history, beginning with the Elementary-Secondary Education Act 1965, the impact has been visible. In all six of the cities surveyed by Gittell and Hollander, it is clear that the massive infusions of federal aid into the school systems at mid-decade influenced innovation and increased the rate of change at which programs have been established for low-income black children. As Gittell and Hollander note:

> Increased interest in and development of compensatory educational programs in each of the cities is readily discernable . . . this is not to suggest that resistance to change has disappeared. In fact, in several of the cities, the federal project officials

> indicated problems they encountered in trying to encourage the development of programs under federal aid. However, for political as well as economic reasons, federal funding had pushed school people to innovate. The press in some cities has been quick to question the failure of school officials to take full advantage of federal aid and in some cases the need to return unspent federal funds.

From this analysis, it appears that the response of the six cities to the new population of black children in their respective public school systems range along a continuum from continued innovation and adaptation to little or no response. Detroit appears to be the city which most consistently innovated to meet the needs of the black children in the community. Philadelphia, especially in recent years, has also demonstrated a flexibility to problems and created a variety of school programs to combat the problems. New York City appears to be half way between being committed to consistent examination and willingness to change and simply adhering to the status quo. The largest gap in response appears to be between these first three schools and the last three. Baltimore, Chicago and St. Louis all have highly similar profiles when measured according to a yardstick noting innovation and self-examination. It is very difficult to distinguish among these three as to the order in which they may be ranked. The sluggishness of response on the part of all three to the situations confronting them leaves little leeway for analysis of difference. I would tend to rank St. Louis fourth, behind Detroit, Philadelphia and New York--not on the basis of the response of the school board, but rather on the basis of the programs initiated in the Banneker district, which represent the single large-scale response among the three cities to the problems of compensatory education.[1] Though the program was totally financed by federal funds, the innovation and motivation for the implementation of the program occurred within the district itself. Chicago and Baltimore appear to be the least responsive to the new majority of students in the city schools.

III. DECISION-MAKING IN THE STRUCTURE: IMPACT ON CHANGE

As indicated above, Detroit and Philadelphia appeared to be the two cities which demonstrated the highest degree of flexibility and receptivity to innovation. New York was somewhat less dynamic, while the remaining three systems were all rather static. The differences among the latter were quite small, and generally they could not be considered innovative systems. The question arises as to why the systems vary in response to the increase of black children and the demands and problems of the communities of which they are a part. The answer appears to be twofold: consideration of decision-making authority, on the one hand, and community and parental participation on the other. The present section will examine these two phenomena as they contribute to variations among the six school systems.

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[1] The Banneker District Project, directed and founded by Dr. Samuel Shepard since its inception in the 1957-58 school year has had as its principle objective the improvement of student performance and achievement through raising the expectations of the teachers, the motivation of the students and the aspirations of the parents. Meetings of teachers and administrators both with parents and community leaders have continually been encouraged and emphasized. A prime component of the program is Shepard's pitting one school or grade or classroom against another in competitive activities, both academic and athletic, to instill motivation to achieve.

The six cities studied by Gittell and Hollander all contain a heterogeneous population including wide variation in nationality, ethnic origin, racial composition and linguistic dialects. A third variable in understanding the rate and process whereby innovation and change come into the system is to examine how the board and the school system in general has responded to this diversified population. In recent years, the demands by a growing number of parents in the various cities for more local or "community" control of schools have been increasing in intensity (cf. Berube and Gittell, 1969; Marburger, 1963; and Saltzman, 1963). The major response of each of the school systems to these demands has been to institutionalize some form of decentralization. Though the titles may range from district superintendent (Chicago, St. Louis, New York and Philadelphia) to regional superintendent (Detroit) to area director (Baltimore), the general pattern of the school systems has been to create positions below the school superintendent to deal with school and community activities in a particular area of the city. What also must be examined is the extent to which that individual has the actual power to deal with problems of that area, independent of authorization from the city superintendent. Thus as an index to measure the extent to which school systems have been willing to decentralize their systems to accommodate themselves to a variety of student populations, certain key areas of authorization granted to the district superintendent are analyzed (cf. Gittell and Hollander, 1967).

A primary criteria according to Gittell and Hollander, by which one may measure autonomy is the degree of control the district superintendent has in determining the budget for his own district. It is suggested that increased control of the budget is directly proportional to district autonomy. With control of the budget for his district, the district superintendent is in a position to allocate funds according to his assessment of educational priorities and needs. However, there is always the possibility that his assessment of needs may not coincide with those of the city superintendent. The degree to which the district superintendent may dictate allocation of resources in the face of opposition from the city superintendent may give the clearest indication of the power distribution.

A second measure of the degree of decentralization is the power of the district superintendent to engage in the employment, transfer, or the removal of various staff members within his district. The participation by the district superintendent in general policy formulations for the system as a whole and the district in particular is a third measure of decentralization--that is, to what degree may the district superintendent formulate policy related to the needs of his district and to what extent must he follow specific policies formulated for the city as a whole? Short summaries of the powers of district superintendents in the various cities follow. The analysis is based primarily on data supplied in Gittell and Hollander (1967).

Baltimore

There is no formal position of district superintendent in Baltimore, but rather there has been the creation of seven area director positions for elementary education and two for secondary education. These positions appear to lack appreciable amount of decision and policy making authority. They appear to be primarily liaison between the schools and the central office. They have no budgetary or personnel authority nor are they able to formulate policy. The individual principal remains responsible to the assistant superintendent. There appears to be little actual decentralization of power and policy making within the school system.

Chicago

In the city of Chicago there are twenty-eight school districts, each with a single district superintendent. Each of these districts also has a local school board, but they are without any significant amount of power. The boards cannot employ or dismiss personnel nor exercise any authority over the budget. The district superintendent is appointed by the city superintendent. Each district superintendent has a small clerical staff, a district psychologist and a teacher supervisor. The supervisor, however, does not report to the district superintendent but rather to the central office. The budget formulation is almost entirely under the authority of the city superintendent. The districts may simply make requests for additional or special funding. In a similar manner, recommendations by the district superintendent have generally been ignored by the central office in the areas of curriculum modification and innovation. There is a single curriculum guideline for the entire school system.

Detroit

In each of the nine regions of the Detroit school system, there is a single regional superintendent who is assisted by two regional assistants. The responsibilities of the regional superintendents include (Gittell and Hollander, 1967, p. 67):

> School-community relations, supervision of staff, approval of major requisitions and reorganization plans within his region. They are responsible to the assistant superintendent for elementary education and to the deputy superintendent (administration). Each of the regions has between 30,000 and 35,000 pupils.

As is apparent, the regional superintendents have a significantly higher degree of autonomy than those in similar supervisory capacities in Baltimore and Chicago. The goal of the Detroit school system is even further decentralization with budgets submitted by each school within each region, thus permitting further flexibility within the system (Drachler, 1967).

New York

The thirty district superintendents appear in New York City to have some discretionary power in the areas of personnel and budgeting, but these powers are quite limited. The district superintendent may allocate financial resources among the schools within his district, but he does not have the power to formulate the budget for the district. That is, once the central office has decided what funds will be distributed to his district, the district superintendent may then allocate it to the individual schools. In relation to policy making in the area of personnel, the district superintendent has the choice of naming a new principal to any vacancy in his district from the list of three names supplied by the central office. Likewise, he may transfer a teacher to a new assignment within the district, but only with the permission of the teacher involved.

An attempt was made in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville decentralization experiment to allow the community board to name various principals and teachers among the eight schools involved. This perogative was contested by teacher union leaders, the district superintendents, other principals and many of the teachers within the eight schools. After a series of strikes, legal actions, and various proposals and counter-proposals attempting at a compromise, the State Supreme Court ruled invalid the appointments of the principals and teachers by the local board. They were suspended from duty, but eventually reinstated by the city Board of Education without the authority of the local board (cf. Berube and Gittell, 1969).

Philadelphia

The district superintendents are appointed on a year-to-year basis by the superintendent of schools. According to Gittell and Hollander (1967), they are reappointed continuously. Gittell and Hollander, in an interview with the deputy superintendent ascertained that the district superintendents have negligible power in relation to policy-making either on the district level or for the entire city. They also possess no budgetary powers and have extremely restricted powers in relation to their personnel. Unlike the district superintendents in New York City, those in Philadelphia have no power to participate in the decisions relating to the appointment of principals nor the power to transfer teachers within their districts. The primary function of the district superintendents appears to be the implementation of policy established at the central office or by the superintendent and his deputies.

A report by Odell (1956), indicates that fundamental decentralization of the Philadelphia school system would be desirable. The president of the Board of Education appointed in 1965 also indicated a strong preference for decentralization of the schools. The hiring of Mark Shedd, a strong advocate of community-control of schools, as the Superintendent of Schools in September of 1967 has given considerable impetus for the formal decentralization of the school system (cf. Roberts, 1969).

St. Louis

Given the special concern of this study with the St. Louis school system and its personnel I have chosen to quote extensively from Gittell and Hollander (1967):

> The assistant superintendents in charge of the six districts in the St. Louis school system are appointed by the board of education upon the nomination of the superintendent.
>
> The budgetary powers of the district superintendents are minor. They make estimates of the amount of supplies and equipment and the number of teachers needed in their districts. These latter estimates, however, involve no discretion since they must be made according to predetermined formulas (e.g., there is a set pupil-teacher ratio). Further, the secretary-treasurer makes independent enrollment estimates which are invariably lower and are usually adopted.
>
> The personnel powers of the district superintendents seem to be much more important. They can appoint principals for schools within their districts. They may choose any person on the eligible list (regardless of position on that list) and from any part of the school system. Appointments are subject to the approval of the superintendent and the board. Such approval is ordinarily granted.
>
> The district superintendents also supervise the work of principals and teachers. To aid them in this task there are three subject area supervisors assigned to the office. Each superintendent also has one secretary to perform clerical tasks.

The district superintendents are responsible primarily for the instructional aspects of the entire school program. Prior to this year (1967) the district superintendents were concerned with only the elementary schools. High schools are now coming under the jurisdiction of the district superintendent.

One of the district superintendents is engaged in a special program in his district, financed by the federal government. Significantly, none of the money involved in his program is being provided from the St. Louis school system. It is notable, however, that this enterprise, known as the Banneker District Community Project, is highly innovative.

Composite Evaluation

An evaluation of the relative positions of the district superintendents based on budgeting, personnel, general policy and staff was conducted by Gittell and Hollander (1967). Their findings indicate that Detroit has decentralized its school system to the greatest extent, giving the district superintendent authority and decision-making responsibility beyond that allocated to district superintendents in other cities. Chicago, St. Louis and New York are all placed in a tie for second position. Baltimore is ranked fifth while Philadelphia is listed last. It should be noted that Philadelphia, while ranked last, is presently undergoing a series of fundamental changes that may alter the structure of the system beyond that of any of the five remaining cities (cf. Roberts, 1969).

General conclusions based on this brief survey of the position of the district superintendent within the school system indicate that almost without exception, all are relatively powerless. It appears that they serve as a liaison between the base of authority (i.e., the superintendent and board of education) on the one hand and the local school, the community and the parents on the other. As Gittell and Hollander note (1967, p. 76), "They tend to act as a buffer protecting the central staff from parental dissatisfaction." Also the position of district superintendent appears to be a secure one. Reappointment is practically guaranteed. No incident of a district superintendent being removed could be located.

The Superintendent

As indicated in the previous section, the power and policy-making authority of the district superintendents in the various cities is quite limited. It was found that the major centers of power within the structure of the urban school systems were located primarily in two positions: the Superintendent of Schools and the Board of Education. It is not the case, however, that all superintendents exercise the same amount of decision-making authority. As noted by Gittell and Hollander, there were relatively strong and autonomous superintendents in the cities of Detroit and Chicago while the superintendents in St. Louis,[2] Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York were weaker. The comparison is not quite accurate for New York, for though the superintendent is not at the apex of the authority pyramid, neither is the board. Rather, the authority with the New York system is diffuse and somewhat ambiguous. Decisions in the New York system appear to be made within the staff hierarchy of the central office, often on a committee basis. In St. Louis, Baltimore and Philadelphia, the Board of Education holds as its own decision-making perogative many functions exercised by the superintendent in Detroit and Chicago.

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[2] The Superintendent of the St. Louis Public School system indicated in March of 1970 that he was retiring at the end of the 1969-1970 school year. He served as Superintendent for seven years.

In an evaluation of the relative positions of the six superintendents as to autonomy and decision-making responsibility, Gittell and Hollander examined each of the six in relation to budget coordination, chief executive, review of top supervisory staff and ability to appoint administrative staff from outside the city system. Likewise, the superintendents were compared according to salary, age, average term of office, tenure and the ratio of superintendents appointed from within or from out of the system. Table 3:1 condensed from Gittell and Hollander (pp. 78-79) summarized these comparisons.

This data suggest that Detroit is the city with the most authority delegated to the school administration. As was the case with the district superintendents in Detroit, the superintendent also has been granted strong decision-making responsibility. Chicago administrators and especially the superintendent also have strong decision-making authority. In Philadelphia the superintendent has decision-making authority among the six cities. For St. Louis and Baltimore, neither the superintendent nor his assistants appear to have significant policy-making authority. Power remains quite concentrated in the hands of the board of education. In New York, the superintendent appears to exercise some authority, but his position is somewhat ambiguous in that authority within the decision-making apparatus is diffuse and thus it is difficult

TABLE 1

SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS, SIX MAJOR SCHOOL SYSTEMS, 1967*

	Baltimore	Chicago	Detroit	Philadelphia	St. Louis	N.Y.
1) Beginning of present superintendent's term	1965	1966	1967	1967	1965	1965
2) Tenure of superintendent (years)	(none)	4	3	3	4	6
3) Average term of office (years) (1900-1964)	8	7	12.8	7	9	9
4) Age of present superintendent	50	50	55	40	unknown	54
5) Salary of present superintendent	$35,000	$48,000	$33,000	$32,000	$25,000	$40,000
6) Number of superintendents appointed from inside the system	4	5	4	5	7	7
7) Number of superintendents appointed from outside the system	5	6	2	6	1	2
8) Powers of the superintendent:						
a - budget coordinator	X	X	X	X	X	X
b - chief executive	X	X	X	X		X
c - review of top supervisory staff			X			
d - top administrative staff appointed from outside system			X			X

*Condensed and reprinted from Gittell and Hollander 1967, pp. 78-79.

to compare his position with that of any other single position or group. As noted by Gittell and Hollander, the major decisions are made by the headquarters staff with the superintendent acting in conjunction with the staff.

The Board of Education

At the nexus of the policy-making decisions in five of the six cities surveyed is the board of education. Though there are various state and municipal restrictions and regulations specifying the division of power between the board and the administrations, the scales tip in favor of the boards dramatically in three of the cities, Baltimore, St. Louis and Philadelphia. In Detroit and Chicago authority in the decision-making process is more equally distributed than in the latter three cities, but the superintendents appear to have greater authority. In New York, the board does not appear to have significant areas of authority independent from both the superintendent and the headquarters staff. It is only in New York that the board is not in a crucial position of authority as decisions are made affecting the city school system. Nevertheless, in all six of the cities, the interrelationships among the participants in the policy-making decisions are such that the relative power of each may shift slightly depending upon the issue and the political climate in which the decisions are made.

Two criteria which may give strong indication of the relative positions of the six boards are first the areas of policy making authority and secondly, the response to the community and its needs. The former is primarily related to the exercise of power within the system by means of budget control, active standing committees and term of office longer than that of the superintendent. The latter of the two criteria indicates the degree of legitimation the board seeks with the community through response to community recommendations and members reflecting the racial and ethnic composition of the community.

In evaluating the six cities in relation to the criteria of policy-making authority, St. Louis, Baltimore and Philadelphia all have boards with a high degree of authority. In Detroit and Chicago the boards have less authority than the superintendents, but that is not to say that it is inconsequential. It is only in New York that the board is not considered among the groups involved intimately in the decision-making process. In relation to the boards and their response to the needs of the community, only Detroit and Philadelphia may be considered as highly aware and responsive to the community. In the remaining four cities, the response varies from sporadic attention to total disregard.

Based on these two criteria, what is evident is that cities with strong boards have generally been slow in response to the community. They have also operated independently of the community to a larger extent than have those school boards with low policy-making authority. Those cities with the stronger boards have also been the slower to implement decentralization plans. The relation between board strength and innovation is uncertain since both Detroit and Philadelphia have demonstrated a willingness for innovation, but the former city has a weak board while the latter has a strong board.

Policy-Making: Other Participants

There are, in addition to the various members of the school system, numerous other participants in the policy-making process in each of the six cities. The power and influence of the various groups on the decision-making process varies with the community and the organization of the school system. Community participants may be categorized according to several broad groupings. First, a variety of teacher organizations ranging from study groups to unions are increasingly becoming involved in the policy-making within the system. (It may be anticipated that this involvement will increase progressively in all urban systems: the role of unions and teacher associations is becoming a significant factor in the negotiations over salaries and benefits.) A second broad group involved in the policy-making activities of the various school systems is that of various community organizations ranging from civil rights, civic, parental, and educational groups to religious organizations and special-interest groups for the handicapped and mentally retarded. The third general group includes both government officials and government organizations: on the local level there is the mayor, the city council and various other political personnel; the governor, various legislators and members of the state board of education provide the next highest level of involvement; and at the highest level is the federal government, with congressmen and agency officials acting as individuals, or entire departments such as the Health, Education and Welfare or Justice departments. (The latter may play an increasingly significant role in policy-making in the school systems as Supreme Court rulings on desegregation of schools are made giving specific dates for compliance.)

Gittell and Hollander indicate that there are four levels at which an individual or organization may participate in the decision-making process. At the very center are the "decision-makers." They are surrounded by a group of "influence wielders" who are in turn encompassed by various "reactors and supporters." On the very fringe of the process are groups which may have no influence on any particular decision. They are termed simply "peripheral groups." Following this typology, the authors present diagrams for the six cities indicating at what level of involvement each of the participants may be placed. A certain degree of precision is lost in each of these charts in that the pattern for any one city may change to some degree depending upon the particular issue. For example, the question as to whether to introduce black studies materials into the curriculum is highly salient to various civil rights groups, but much less so to the Chamber of Commerce.

As the six diagrams indicate, the cities of St. Louis, Chicago and Baltimore are extremely restrictive as to who is allowed to participate in the policy-making process. Philadelphia, New York and Detroit may all be considered more open in terms of the participation of various groups, but the process is still quite limited. The city which appears to have created the greatest degree of community and organization involvement is Detroit. Though there are only three groups within the "decision Makers" area, there are a number of parental, citizen, governmental and teacher organizations listed as "influence wielders." None are relegated to the position of mere "peripheral groups."

Examination of the Saint Louis school system and particularly the school Board by a journalist, Doyle (1969), indicates strong agreement with the findings of Gittell and Hollander. Doyle is considerably less charitable in her evaluation of the school system's approach to the presence of the black students.

> The board's overall sluggishness is illustrated in its approach to two major issues of the day--integration and inner-city education . . . . One can only conclude that in the thirteen and a half years since the monumental Supreme Court decision, the St. Louis Board has never accepted integration. While its basic policy is that it will set no barriers "that will prevent the achievement of maximum integration consistent with sound educational principles," it has been single-minded in building schools where children live.

In relation to the education of very low-income children, Doyle notes:

> The school district's response to the plight of disadvantaged urban youth is pleas for more money rather than fresh ideas. The leadership is predisposed to smaller class sizes as the remedy to failure. This means more buildings and more teachers, unquestionably the most costly ways to attack school problems, and according to recent research, one of the most dubious for improving learning.

Committed to the concept of the neighborhood school and unwilling to innovate with new approaches for the education of the low-income black students, the school board and administration of St. Louis appear to remain content in the methods of the past. Urban population shifts, however, demand new responses. The massive influx of blacks into the city has resulted in a black community within St. Louis of nearly one-quarter million persons. The word "within" is used advisedly, for the black community is distinctly separate from the white. One of the many conditions resulting from this dichotomy of the community along racial lines is that the schools reflect the division quite clearly. The following section will attempt to analyze the extent of this division and its implications for isolation of black children from white children.

IV. RACIAL ISOLATION IN THE ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Children

Until the landmark decision of Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954, the state of Missouri had as part of its legal code the formal sanction of segregation in public schools (cf. United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1967). The constitution of the state provided that "separate schools shall be provided for white and colored children, except in cases otherwise provided by law." [Missouri Constitution, Article IX, Sec. 1 (a)]. Two months after the Supreme Court decision, the Attorney-General of Missouri indicated that the segregation clause in the state constitution could no longer be considered valid. It had not taken the verdict of the Attorney-General, however, for the St. Louis Board of Education to initiate desegregation in the public schools of the city. Utilizing a three-step program, the board successfully completed a desegregation program by September of 1956 (Semmel, 1967, p. 8). The first stage consisted in the desegregation of the city teacher colleges and the special elementary schools for gifted, retarded and handicapped children. The second stage included the desegregation of the city high schools while the third completed the program with the desegregation of the elementary schools.

Though the de jure segregation of the schools in the city was abolished, the de facto segregation was not.[3] The racial separation of the children was not significantly affected by the three-step program initiated by the board (Crane, 1967; Davis, 1962; Semmel, 1967). The impact of the program had its most noticeable effect on the integration of several of the city high schools. With the entrance of 826 black students into previous all white high schools, the percentage of blacks at Soldan became twenty-five per cent, at Central thirteen per cent, at McKinley twelve per cent and at Beaumont five per cent (Semmel, p. 9). However, at the remaining three white high schools and the two black, the racial composition of the student body was not affected.

The extent of integration achieved in the high schools was not carried out in the elementary schools. Though the officials did not conduct a racial count after the implementation of the three-step program in the elementary schools, the assumption may be made that racial isolation remained quite prevalent. The basis for this assumption is that the school officials and the Board of Education utilized the concept of the neighborhood school as the determining factor in ascertaining attendance zone areas in a city with an extremely high residential segregation index. In their study of the patterns of residential segregation in St. Louis, the Taeubers (1965) list St. Louis as having a residential segregation index of 92.9 in 1950 and 90.5 in 1960. The implications of these findings are that more than ninety per cent of all non-white families in the city of St. Louis would have to change the block on which they presently live in order to create an unsegregated distribution of residential intermixture throughout the city. This would have the effect of equalizing the percentage of non-whites on each block in the city (0 on the segregation index).

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[3] As used in this study, the term "segregated school" refers to a school with more than ninety per cent enrollment of one race. Likewise, in referring to a "black school" or a "white school" the reference is to those schools with an enrollment of ninety per cent or greater of one race.

It was not until seven years after the implementation of the three-step program that the Board of Education authorized school officials to again begin a racial tabulation of the children in the city schools. Thus for an assessment of the impact of the program on the desegregation of the schools one must examine the first seven year period as one unit utilizing figures from the time of the initiation of the program and again seven years later. As Semmel (p. 11) notes:

> What can be said for the 1954-1962 period is that the school authorities acted promptly and without coercion in 1954 to end *de jure* segregation, but that, at the same time, they made two fundamental decisions whose inevitable results were segregated elementary schools. Although strong arguments for a neighborhood school policy may be advanced, and perhaps even some justification for the segregated classroom bussing, in each case the choice placed other values and results above integration. The result, as Professor Davis concluded in 1962, was that "*de facto* segregation in St. Louis public schools has patently worsened during the past seven years." And this was undoubtedly the case.

It is important to note that in the years between 1955 and 1962, the possibility of integration of the schools in the city became increasingly difficult. The mass exodus of whites from the city reduced the number of white children available with whom black children could be placed in integrated classrooms. Statistics cited by Semmel (p.4) support this proposition:

> In 1954, St. Louis public schools in a de jure segregated system had 89,475 pupils, of whom 58,595 (65.5 per cent) were white and 30,880 (34.5 per cent) Negro. No racial count of pupils was made following desegregation in 1955 until the 1962-1963 school year. Although the total enrollment at that time had grown to 108,245 pupils, the number of whites had dropped almost 10,000, a decline of seventeen per cent to 48,754 (44.9 per cent) of the total, and the number of Negro pupils had almost doubled from 30,880 to 59,653 (55.1 per cent) of the total. Thus, the seven 1 years following the end of de jure segregation saw a relative increase of Negroes to whites in the public school system of 38,614. This trend continued through 1965-1966; the number of white pupils declined by 3,192 in the three years from 1962-1963 to 1965-1966 while the number of Negro pupils increased by 10,235. In 1965-1966, sixty per cent of the total public school population was Negro.

In the three years between 1965-1966 and 1968-1969 the racial composition of the elementary schools has remained quite stable with 1968-1969 figures released by the Board of Education indicating that the percentage of black students in the school population had increased only 3.3 per cent in three years. In the high schools, the rate of increase has been only slightly higher with an added 5.3 per cent of black students (St. Louis Board of Education, 1969).

In the school year 1965-1966, only three of the ten city high schools were integrated while the elementary schools remained almost entirely segregated. As mentioned, the bussing program, which was originally designed not to increase integration in the schools, but to alleviate overcrowding, accounted for the majority of the stable integrated schools. The presence of a large number of segregated schools in the city appears nearly inevitable when one considers that two of every three elementary school children are black. As Reisner (1965) has noted, even if the Board and the school officials committed themselves to as complete integration as possible with the wholesale movement of students, on a formula basis of sixty percent white and forty percent black, there were only enough white students in the school system in 1965 to integrate twenty-five percent of the black students in the city. There were simply not enough white students to integrate the remaining seventy-five percent of the black elementary students (Reisner, 1965).

De facto segregation has also been present in the city parochial schools. In the 1965-66 school year, blacks constituted twenty-two per cent of the enrollment in the city Catholic elementary schools. (All statistics for the Catholic elementary schools have been supplied by the office of the Superintendent of Schools, Archdiocese of St. Louis.) Of that figure, seventy-seven percent attended segregated black schools. Eleven of the sixty Catholic elementary schools were black and forty-four were white. Only five of the schools had more than a ten percent enrollment of both races.

In the 1969-70 school year, figures were not available for all elementary schools in the city, but only for the thirty two schools comprising what the Archdiocese terms the "Inner-City District." The percentage of blacks in the "Inner-City District" was 55.8 percent. For the thirty two schools, the enrollment was comprised of 3,048 white children (43.8 percent) and 3,926 black children (55.8 percent). At all eight grade levels, the total number of black children exceeded that of the white children. Of the thirty two schools for which statistics were available, seven were white schools, fifteen were black and ten were integrated. Even with this smaller sample, it is evident that the amount of integration in the schools has increased somewhat. For with the figures for 1965-66, there were only five integrated schools among the sixty elementary schools in the city while in 1969-70 there are ten integrated schools of the thirty two in the Inner-City District. Yet these figures must be interpreted with a degree of caution. Of the total number of black children enrolled in Catholic elementary schools in the Inner-City District, the percentage of those attending segregated schools has decreased only four percentage points in the five year period. The figure for 1965-66 of the number of black children attending a segregaged school was 77 percent while in the 1969-70 school year the figure was 73 percent. There were in 1969-70 three white and six black elementary schools that did not have a single member of the other race enrolled. In addition, there were eight black schools that had less than five white children enrolled and three white schools with fewer than five black students.

In the smaller Lutheran parochial school system, blacks constituted eleven percent of the total elementary school enrollment with the majority of these students concentrated in two schools with a greater than sixty percent majority of black students. There were 275 black students out of a total enrollment of 2,338 in the city Lutheran elementary schools. The figures are for the 1968-69 school year (Western District-Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod). Though there have been very slight increases in the percentage of black students in the two parochial school systems, the loss of white students has not been as dramatic as in the public schools. While there has been a decline in the number of white students in both parochial school systems on the elementary level, the number of whites in the Catholic secondary increased by 843 between 1960 and 1965

(Semmel, p. 17).

Yet, whatever the religious affiliation of the blacks in the various church-related schools, it is apparent that merely sending a black child to a parochial school does not insure racial integration. The majority of black students on both the elementary and secondary level attend parochial schools that are predominantly black. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that most blacks would send their children to a parochial school to obtain an integrated school experience.

School Policy and the Neighborhood School

With the utilization of the neighborhood school concept as the basis for the assignment of pupils at the elementary school level, St. Louis is following a practice also prevalent in many other large metropolitan areas, (Semmel p. 17). In St. Louis the adherence to this policy of the neighborhood school results in the fact that the neighborhood school is most often the segregated school (Unites States Commission on Civil Rights, 1967). Thus the neighborhood school concept serves as a major cause of de facto segregation in the city schools. As noted earlier, total integration is not possible in the St. Louis schools because of the lack of white pupils, but the neighborhood school concept does hinder integration in those areas of the city where it would be feasible (Crane, 1967).

It appears inevitable that some students in the St. Louis schools would be segregated even if the neighborhood school policy were abandoned. This is not to say that the neighborhood school does not offer advantages to the students, parents and administrators. Rather what must be noted is that with the neighborhood school concept applied within a city with a high degree of residential segregation of minority members, the choice has been made for other than an integrated education where possible. The decision inescapably becomes one based on the values of those with policy-making authority.

Prior to 1954, the school system in St. Louis was segregated by law. As a result, Semmel notes:

> St. Louis had 123 elementary schools, eighty-three white and forty Negro. The city was divided in such a way that a white child living anywhere in the city resided in one of the white districts, and a Negro child living anywhere in the city resided in one of the Negro districts. Thus the white and Negro districts overlapped. In practice, most children attended schools close to their homes, a practice reflected by the school district lines. A few white schools located in white residential areas had elongated extensions ("arms") to cover the few whites living in Negro areas and a few Negro schools extended over vast white areas . . . Hence, the law of Missouri gave segregation priority over any concept of the neighborhood school.

Where the St. Louis Board of Education took steps to eliminate the *de jure* segregation of the public schools in the city, the basis upon which the three-step program was founded was that of the neighborhood school. The possibility of the large-scale movement of students to achieve racially integrated schools was hindered by criteria set up to establish neighborhood schools. (For example, children were not to have to walk more than a mile to school; maximum class size was limited to thirty-eight pupils; topographical barriers--such as railroad tracks, highways, and the presence of industry--were taken into account; and safety factors--such as allowing only a minimal number of street crossings in a district--were considered.) By sanctioning the policy of the neighborhood school, the school officials replaced de jure segregation of the schools with de facto. In fact, the Board ordered the school officials to carry out the directive to eliminate de jure segregation "with a minimum of boundary changes in order to relocate the smallest possible number of pupils" (St. Louis Public Schools, 1956).

In spite of the restrictions placed upon the movement of pupils to achieve integration, there were some integrated schools in the city. These were located in white-black border areas, primarily on the west end of the city and on the south edge of the black belt which stretched through the city from east to west. School officials estimated in 1956 that black children were in thirty-seven of the eighty-three formerly all-white schools and that whites were present in thirteen of the forty previously all-black schools (Semmel, p. 21). However, as Semmel also notes, these figures are very misleading for the presence of a single black or white child in a school was listed by the school officials as constituting an integrated school.

In 1963, following a series of civil rights demonstrations and a citizens' report indicating that more integration of schools was possible than was being implemented (cf. Crane, 1967), the Board of Education added a fifth criterion to the four previously listed governing the drawing of boundaries for school districts. In addition to the criteria of class size, conditions of safety, considerations of topographical features and distance from the school, the Board stipulated that "Elementary school districts should be so drawn that they provide a maximum amount of integration consistent with school capacity, reasonable walking distance and safety" (St. Louis Board of Education, 1963). It would appear the

Board in this statement gave just enough emphasis to integration to defuse the civil rights movement over desegregation in the city schools and at the same time left the statement vague enough not to invite a response from the white segregationists (Crane, 1967). As Semmel noted (1967, p. 21), in relation to this additional criterion, the Board stipulated that "if all other things are equal, then integrate. However, all other things are rarely equal. There is no evidence of any boundary change designed to maximize integration; neither is there evidence of any boundary change designed to prevent integration." Since 1963, the few boundary changes that have occurred within the city have all occurred within the black residential areas where six new schools were built to alleviate overcrowded conditions in those areas. Most often the district lines were shifted only one or two blocks and appeared to have no racial significance.

Though the neighborhood school has served within the city as the basic criterion for the assignment of pupils, the Board of Education has established three mechanisms by which a student may attend a school outside of the immediate vicinity of his home: 1) bussing to prevent overcrowded conditions, 2) permissive transfers granted to a student wishing to attend another school in the city that has available space, and 3) special schools established for children who are gifted and mentally or physically handicapped.

Bussing

The principal mechanism by which the neighborhood school concept has been modified by the Board has been the bussing of pupils to maintain the classroom size in the elementary schools at approximately thirty-five pupils per room. Thus in a sense, the Board has considered the classroom size a more critical concern where applicable than the maintenance of the neighborhood school. As a result of the defeat of several bond issues to build new schools in the predominantly black west end of the city, children from this area have been bussed to other less crowded black schools and, to a lesser extent, to white schools on the south side. As previously noted, until 1963 the bussing was done by "contained units" where the class and teacher were bussed to a white school, but the blacks were kept separate from the whites. One result of the civil rights activities in 1963 was that the bussing was no longer done in contained units, and the children who were bussed were accomodated into the regular student population of the receiving school (cf. Crane, 1967). Bussing in 1966-1967 accounted for nineteen of the thirty integrated schools in the city.

Though the bussing program accounts for the integration of nineteen elementary schools in the city, the number is meager when compared with the total number of elementary schools in the city. Bussing simply cannot provide the key to totally intergrated education in St. Louis for there are not enough white children to be distributed among the black chidren. Secondly, the resistance of white parents to the bussing of their children into black schools would be intense. As noted by Semmel (p. 27), the opposition of white parents at two all white schools was overwhelming even when their children were being bussed to another white school. As a result the school officials compromised and developed a plan to bus only fifth graders and to bus the entire room so the children could stay together. "In a city and state in which political power rests solidly in whites a program of bussing white children into Negro neighborhoods seems politically unobtainable" (Semmel, p. 27).

The third constraint that appears to hinder the development of broader integration programs in the city is that the white schools have only limited space available to receive more students. Since white children could not be bussed to black schools, an alternative was to bus black children to white schools. But enough space has not been available. In 1966, only 1,400 spaces were available in white elementary schools to receive more students if one were to keep the classroom size to thirty-five students. Yet these spaces were not utilized for the bussing was not as broad in scope as was possible and the overcrowding continued in the black schools. There were fourteen black schools in 1966 with an enrollment that exceeded capacity by greater than ten percent. Six white schools were also overcrowded. Had all the 1,400 spaces been used, it would have contributed to further integration of the schools, but it would not have relieved all the overcrowding in the black schools. In the 1968-1969 school year, 1,827 children were bussed to relieve overcrowding and some increase in the use of the available space in white schools was made. In the 1969-1970 school year, 2,512 students were bussed, with the anticipated figures for 1970-1971 being 3,300 students (Office of Community Relations, St. Louis School System). In view of this large figure, there is not the space available in white schools to accomodate even forty-five percent of all the black students that would have to be bussed if integration were of prime concern.

The result of these three conditions has led to the policy of bussing children to the closest school with available space. Given the racial distribution of the city, what this in effect implied was that black children were bussed to other less crowded black schools and likewise for the white students. Rooms remained empty in white schools because there was sufficient space to accommodate the whites that must be bussed, but the blacks had schools closer to their homes with space available. As Semmel noted, however, (p. 28), there was no indication that the bussing of black children into white schools caused an exodus of white children, so long as the total population of black children in the school did not exceed fifty percent. Likewise, there had been no indication among black parents that they generally objected to the bussing of their children. Analysis by Semmel of blocks within the black community that were designated for bussing of all the children indicated that families with children were not avoiding living on those blocks. Rather, findings indicate that there was an increase of thirteen percent (forty-one children) in the number of elementary school children living on the blocks designated for bussing.

Permissive Transfers

Besides the abandonment of contained unit bussing, a second result of civil rights activity in the city in 1963 was the implementation of a program of permissive transfer. This program was designed to allow any student in the city school system whether in grade school or in high school to request transfer to any other school in the city that had the available space. The school officials stipulated, however, that transfers could only be made to classrooms already in use. Thus though a building may have several empty rooms, that school is not considered to have available space unless classrooms in use in that same school also have space.

Each year in the spring, all the pupils in the city system are given a letter to their parents listing those schools designated as having room for those students wishing to transfer. The applications must be completed within a certain period and returned to the superintendent's office. In 1963, the school officials designated 202 elementary spaces available, but within two years the number of spaces available jumped to 1,950. In the school year 1968-1969, the number of spaces available dropped back to 124 (Office of Community Relations, St. Louis Public Schools). Though initial reaction to the program was mixed, some school officials expressed fear that the program would lead to further segregation in the school system by allowing the white children to transfer out of integrated schools. These fears have not materialized, as the program has received only minimal attention from city residents. In the first year of the program in 1963 there were only twenty-eight elementary school applicants and in 1965 there were only 182. In 1968 there were 183 applicants. Only in the first two years of the program did school officials record the race of the child requesting the transfer. Of the twenty-eight applications in 1963, nine white and seven black were accepted (Semmel, p. 31).

An examination of the permissive transfer program in the St. Louis schools reveals no definitive pattern in the movement of pupils to either further or hinder integration. The program on the elementary school level has not been used by either race to leave a school when members of the other race are present. The most significant fact of the program that emerges is that less than one-tenth of one percent of the total number of parents with children in the city schools applied for a transfer. As an explanation to why the black community did not make greater use of the program, Semmel notes:

> Negro parents did not find the program satisfactory, probably because a majority of the available spaces were generally in white schools in south St. Louis, far from the Negro residential area. Since the school system provides no transportation, children who transfer must pay the cost of transportation themselves, a substantial limitation for the numerous poverty-level Negro families. Even families with sufficient means may object to sending their children half-way across the city on public transportation even though they would not object to travel in school buses. . . If free, school-supervised transportation were available, perhaps more Negroes would at least apply once to test the program's possibilities.

Given the number of children involved in bussing programs and the projected figures of overcrowding in the city schools which will necessitate even further bussing, the permissive transfer program will probably be held to a minimum, if for no other reason than the lack of available space.

Special Schools

As a third method by which a child may attend a school away from his own neighborhood, the school system has a number of special schools located throughout the city. At the end of fourth grade, all children in the elementary schools are administered the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test. From the results of this test, children with very high I.Q.

scores are placed in a special track for gifted children. In 1965, this program contained 115 black elementary students and 702 white students. In the 1969-1970 school year, there were 177 black and 533 white children involved (Office of Community Relations, St. Louis Public Schools).

There are a number of other special education schools in the city serving the deaf, the physically handicapped, the mentally retarded, those in correctional institutions and girls who are pregnant. These programs, however, serve such a small group of students that they are not included in this study for analysis. As with the general findings in relation to permissive transfers, the number of children involved in special schools is so small that the impact on the racial composition of the vast majority of elementary schools in the city is practically nil. Of the three methods by which a student may enroll in a school outside of his neighborhood, bussing represents the single alternative that may be considered as affecting the racial composition of the elementary schools, and that only in a very few cases. The dominant condition within the city schools is that children go to school in their own neighborhood. Thus black children go to school almost exclusively with black children and whites attend schools almost exclusively with other whites.

The Teachers and Administrators

During the period of legal segregation in the St. Louis public school, a completely dual system of schools was operated by the city, except that whites held all the uppermost positions in the school administration. Below the Board of Education and the superintendent of schools, who were all white, a complete racial dichotomy prevailed in all other levels of professional staff. The black elementary school districts were administered by black directors and all staff within these districts were also black. The same conditions were present in the three white elementary school districts. This dual system of schooling in the city based on race provided a benefit and a handicap when de jure segregation of schools was abolished. The benefit was a large core of experienced black professionals as both administrators of the schools and as teachers in the classrooms. The handicap was the tradition of segregated facilities and staff.

As the Board of Education and school officials undertook the necessary steps to merge the two groups of teachers and administrators, they abolished the criteria of race as a factor in the hiring, promotion or transfer of personnel (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1967). Though this might have provided the basis for the integration of the faculties of the various schools, a decision was made by the school officials that "wherever possible employees were to retain their present assignments, being transferred only to meet the needs of the service" (St. Louis Public Schools, 1956). This decision of holding teachers to their assignment at the time of the abolishment of de jure segregation of the schools virtually guaranteed that segregated faculties would remain intact. Ten years later in examining the extent of racial segregation of the elementary school faculties, Semmel (p. 34) concludes, "the basic pattern of faculty segregation at the elementary school level has not changed." In 1966, forty-eight all-black elementary schools in the city had no white staff member. Likewise, thirty-seven all-white elementary schools in the city had no black staff member, and each of four additional white schools had one black teacher. Thus in 1966 seventy-seven percent of the elementary school faculties were de facto segregated, a percentage that Semmel notes had been constant since 1962.

Though a large exodus of white teachers from the city schools might have been expected with the end of legal segregation, it did not materialize. This is probably because the white teachers were able to retain their positions in the white schools and had no fear of being assigned to a black school. During the first two years after the three-step plan was initiated in 1954 to desegregate the schools, the number of teachers who terminated their contract for whatever reason was less than eight percent. Ten years later in 1966, the percentage was identical (Semmel, p. 37).

Had the school officials pushed for the integration of the elementary school faculties during the eleven-year period between 1955-1966 a racial balance in the composition of the faculties of the schools could have been accomplished.

> If school authorities had wished to exercise a policy of faculty assignments and if teachers had been willing to accept these assignments to maximize integration, all schools during the eleven years since the end of de jure segregation had ample openings to permit a fully integrated distribution of teachers. Such integration did not take place. Instead, white teachers left the once white, now Negro, schools; eight of fourteen formerly white elementary schools with all white teaching staffs in 1954 that now have ninety percent or more Negro had more than eighty percent Negro faculties by 1962, the first year that racial counts were made. (Semmel, p. 37).

Semmel also notes that the pattern of the departure of a large percentage of white teachers from a school did not occur until the enrollment of the black students approximated ninety percent. As the number of black students reached this percentage level, the turnover of white to black teachers was very rapid and very extensive.

The mechanism by which white teachers can successfully transfer from an increasingly black school to one that is white is through the principle of seniority in granting transfers. For white teachers who have been in the city system for a number of years, there is little difficulty in securing a transfer to a white school should they desire to do so. Semmel states that school officials reported in an interview that black teachers "almost-never" sought to transfer to a predominantly white school. In a survey conducted by Semmel (p. 39) to confirm the figures given by school officials, the results of a questionnaire given to 292 black teachers in 1966 indicated that only ten had ever sought to transfer to a school with less than a ninety-five percent black student enrollment. To request a transfer, a teacher merely files her request with the school officials stating the school at which she is presently teaching and the school to which a transfer is requested. Semmel indicated that a common reason given for teachers requesting a transfer from a black school to a white school was "to teach at a school closer to my residence."

A second factor that appears to contribute to the maintenance of the segregated faculties in the city elementary schools is the two teacher unions--the St. Louis Teachers Association, affiliated with the National Education Association, and the St. Louis Teachers Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers. Though both unions are well integrated and have blacks as well as whites in leadership positions, neither would advocate the abolishment of the seniority system for the basis of transfer. Semmel notes (p. 40):

> One of the basic principles of trade union organizations is that of seniority in matters of hiring and transfers. Seniority provides an objective standard for determining management decisions. It eliminates questions of favoritism and individual discrimination by supervisory personnel and serves management as well as employees by removing a potential source of conflict and discontent. It is therefore not surprising that in interviews with officials of both teacher organizations, strong opposition was voiced to any departure from the present seniority practices. These officials recognized the extent of faculty segregation, expressed support for the principle of furthering integration, but offered little in the way of suggestions to promote increased faculty integration in the near future.

Thus it appears that the Board of Education would meet significant opposition from the two teacher unions should the Board attempt to initiate any new policy on the basis for transfers of teachers to further the integration of the school faculties. So long as the transfer program is voluntary and based upon seniority rights, there is little indication that there will be significant integration of the school faculties utilizing the transfer of teachers.

Though the Board of Education had total freedom to undertake the massive transfer of teachers to achieve more integrated schools, there is, Semmel indicates(p. 42), little indication that they would do so.

> As noted, a seniority system has advantages for management. Secondly, school officials are sympathetic to white teachers who seek to leave Negro schools. Many of the white teachers who transferred were women of middle age or advanced years whose teaching experience had been with whites, often middle-class whites. School authorities believe that many of these teachers lack both knowledge of the cultural background

> of Negro children from poverty-level families in the center-city ghetto and the ability to deal with discipline problems that often occur in the Negro slum school. School authorities reported that some of these teachers expressed fears, whether real or imagined, of working in all-Negro neighborhoods. Third, the dual system of enforcing discipline in the schools deters greater faculty integration. Corporal punishment is almost never administered in the white schools, but school authorities acknowledge its regular use in Negro schools. . .Thus, once the use of corporal punishment is tolerated by school officials, a segregated teaching staff follows.

Presently, the transfer program has little impact on the presence or absence of integrated faculties in the city schools. Segregation of faculties is the reality for more than three-fourths of the elementary schools. There is also very little change occurring in the racial composition of the vast majority of the schools, thus prompting very few teachers to seek transfers for racial reasons. Those white teachers that desired to leave a black school were able to effect a transfer many years ago. In 1966, only forty-four white teachers received a transfer of assignment and none of those whites were from among the few whites left in the black schools. In the same year twenty-six black teachers requested transfers, none of which were to white schools. Of the total of seventy transfers granted in the school year, the movement of eleven others tended to promote integration. With the remainder, the movement was from either one segregated or integrated faculty to another (Semmel, p. 43).

It appears that faculty segregation follows student segregation. Thus if programs in the city were initiated to increase the integration of the schools, the program could be expected to also increase the integration of the various school faculties. However, there appears to be no indication that the St. Louis Board of Education is considering measures that would effect significant changes in the present pattern of assigning students to the neighborhood school. As long as this condition is present, there is little basis to assume other than that the racial segregation of the faculties will also continue.

De facto Segregation and New Teacher Assignments

For at least the past ten years St. Louis has been faced with a critical shortage of qualified teachers (St. Louis Board of Education, 1969). The lure of newer schools, higher fringe benefits, smaller class sizes, and nearly all-white schools have sent many white city teachers into the surrounding twenty-six suburban school districts. During the 1968-1969 school year, the school system had to rely on the daily services of 415 substitutes to fill the classroom vacancies due to a shortage of teachers (St. Louis Board of Education, 1969). Among the 6,878 teachers who teach full time, 2,012 are non-certified, which means that they have state certificates but have not passed the National Teachers Examination. In 1968-1969 the school system was faced with the replacement of at least 500 teachers who left the schools for a variety of reasons. In an attempt to become more competitive with the surrounding suburban schools, the city raised the starting salary of teachers to $7200, an increase of $1950 in four years. Additional measures are also employed by the school officials to recruit new teachers into the city system. The school system has an active recruitment program with at least 150 college and university placement offices. Programs have also begun in 1967 to train as classroom teachers both military veterans and women with college degrees but not certified for teaching.

A significant source of elementary teachers for the St. Louis schools is the teacher training college, Harris Teachers College, operated by the school system itself. In 1966-1967 the enrollment at the college was 987 and has increased to 1250 in the 1969-1970 school year. The faculty is well integrated, as is the student body, with the number of black students just slightly above that of white students. In 1965-1966, 166 Harris graduates accepted teachers positions in the city school system. This figure represented about seventy-five percent of all graduated from the college. In 1968-1969, the number of Harris graduates who accepted positions in the city schools declined to 158, though the number of graduates increased. Of the remaining 558 teachers who entered the city school system in 1968-1969, 246 came from other universities and colleges in Missouri, and 312 were from out of state (St. Louis Board of Education, 1969). The total number of white teachers in the city school system in 1968-1969 was 3,507 with 2,442 having passed the National Teacher Examination. For the same year there were 3,371 black teachers with 2,434 having passed the examination (St. Louis Board of Education, 1969).

When a new teacher accepts a position in the city school system the school administrators have the authority to assign the teacher to a school of their choice. In effect,they could assign teachers in such a manner as to promote the integration of the faculties of the various schools. However, as Semmel indicates, "school officials insist that in practice they lack the power to assign new white teachers to Negro schools because the shortage of teachers has created a tight 'sellers' market" (p. 44). The officals indicated that if a white teacher did not approve of her assignment into a black school in the city, there were numerous opportunities available in the county. In an attempt to secure as many new teachers as possible, the officials have institutionalized the procedure whereby white teachers who request a position in a white school are granted their request in hopes of keeping them from leaving for the suburban schools. With the new white applicants assigned to the white schools, there are few positions available for blacks in white schools. Thus the black teachers are assigned to black classrooms, for these are the only openings available.

In relation to the question of what effect would be had by a more definitive and positive policy of assigning teachers in order to promote racial integration of elementary school faculties, Semmel notes (p. 45):

> School authorities are unwilling to assume the risk necessary to learn the answer, and the risk is great. The St. Louis system made 530 teaching appointments in 1965-66. Although an exact number was unavailable, school officials stated that offers were made to most of the more than 1,000 applicants who qualified by passing the National Teachers Examination. Many offers were not accepted even though, in effect, they included a choice of school area. Undoubtedly many whites refuse to teach in a Negro school. School authorities also reported a reluctance on the part of Negroes to teach in white schools. In all, a shortage of several hundred teachers is feared if assignments for new teachers are compulsory.

Though the figures are not available of the racial distribution of teachers assigned to St. Louis elementary classrooms from colleges and univesities in Missouri or from out of state, the distribution by race of the graduates of Harris Teachers College may be examined. In 1965-1966, of the seventy-six white graduates who accepted positions with the city system, twenty-eight went to all-white schools, thirty-three to integrated schools and fifteen went to all-black schools, a rather well balanced distribution. These figures may also be cautiously interpreted as a rebuttal to the school officials who fear that white teachers will not teach in black schools. The situation for the new black graduates from Harris was dramatic in its difference. Of the ninety black graduates, only two were assigned to a white school while sixty-four went to all-black schools. The assignment of only two graduates to white schools may be viewed as a self-fulfilling prophecy for the school administrators who view these figures as strong evidence that blacks do not want to teach in white schools. Such a conclusion is, of course, false due to the lack of opportunity of blacks to teach in white schools. There is no proof that black teachers would not teach in white schools besides the fact that there is little opportunity for them to do so.

Commenting on this situation, Semmel states (p. 46):

> The failure to assign Harris graduates to white schools probably results from the reluctance of school authorities to send more than a small number of highly qualified, experienced Negro teachers into the white schools. In part this attitude is a response to white community prejudices; in part it is an attempt to demonstrate to the white community that Negro teachers are equal to any by sending only the best to the white schools. This attitude either drains the best Negro teachers from the Negro schools or keeps the number of Negro teachers available for white schools at a perpetual minimum. It is inherently discriminatory because school authorities have no reluctance to assign or keep the less qualified teachers, white or Negro, in the Negro schools.

Even before the Harris Teachers College student has graduated, the application of the philosophy of de facto segregation in the schools is operant. The practice-teaching assignments follow a pattern similar to the first assignments upon graduation. The practice-teaching assignments follow a pattern similar to the first assignments upon graduation. The practice-teaching assignments are made with officials making a "definite bow. . . to fears of white hostility to Negro teachers" (Semmel, p. 47). The students have no choice but to accept the assignment of the school officials since practice-teaching is a requirement to graduate. Each student must practice-teach at two different schools for nine weeks. In 1966, fifty-three of the ninety-nine black student teachers were assigned for both nine week periods to black schools and twenty-nine of the 107 white students were assigned both periods to all-white schools. At two white schools there were no black student-teachers present and in two black schools, there was only one white student-teacher. A recent interview with the director of student teaching at the teachers college indicated that this practice is being modified in an attempt to place each student-teacher in both a black and a white school for nine weeks each. In the conversation, the black schools were referred to as "bad schools" and the white schools were referred to as "good schools" (1/21/70).

This chapter has focused on three critical variables in the examination of the St. Louis school system: the response of the school system to the new majority of black students within the classrooms, the patterns and sources of power affecting the decision-making activities of the school system, and thirdly, both the source and pervasiveness of racial isolation of blacks from whites within the schools, both in terms of children and also staff. The fourth and final consideration of this chapter is to focus on the teacher training program at the city's Harris Teachers College. I believe that it is crucial to examine this training program, for it is through the training of teachers that the impact of the ideology and values of the public school system will eventually most directly affect the children in the classroom. Thus in order to understand in part the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of the teacher towards the children within her class, it is necessary to examine the methods by which she was taught. Moreover, not only the teaching methods must be examined, but more fundamentally, the beliefs and ideology guiding the teaching methods must be analyzed. An analysis of teacher training provides an avenue by which to examine the impact of the ideology of the macro-system on the microcosm of the classroom.

V. TEACHER EDUCATION FOR THE ST. LOUIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

When a new teacher enters her classroom for the first time, she is not totally unaware of what to expect, nor does she come to the room lacking a set of attitudes and beliefs as to what her function within the classroom should be. Rather, she has participated in an extensive program of socialization that sought to acquaint her not only with the techniques of teaching, but with a notion of the organizational structure within which she must operate. The primary source of this socialization process occurs during the four years of training that she received as an undergraduate (Connor and Smith, 1967). It is during these four years that she is exposed to actual classroom teaching situations and professional interaction with a number of currently employed teachers. At the same time she is enrolled in a variety of classes devoted to classroom management, educational psychology, and philosophy of education which all seek to further clarify the nature of the educational experience, both for the child and the prospective teacher. The training of the future elementary school teacher proceeds on two levels: first within the college classroom as student and secondly, within the grade school classroom as an apprentice-teacher. It is to this process of transforming the individual from student into classroom teacher that this section will address itself.

Within the city of St. Louis, nearly a fourth of all new teachers who enter the school system each year are graduates of the city teachers college. The training of these teachers is an integral aspect of the total educational endeavor of the school system, for during the crucial teacher shortage in the city, the teachers college provided a continuous source of new teachers. Likewise, it may be assumed that the graduates of the teachers college have provided a rather sizeable number of long term teachers within the city schools, thus contributing to the low yearly replacement needs (St. Louis Public School System, 1969). The basis for this assumption is twofold: the student who typically enrolls in Harris is a St. Louis resident, and secondly, the curriculum is specifically oriented towards the placement of graduates within the St. Louis city system (Connor and Smith, 1967). As a result, a large majority of the graduates who accept positions in the St. Louis schools are primarily St. Louis residents who have chosen to remain in the city upon completion of their college training. Thus an analysis of the program at Harris Teachers College would appear to provide an examination of the professional training of a sizeable percentage of the teachers currently in the city public school system. Furthermore, an examination of the program at Harris may provide the basis for partial analysis of the beliefs, attitudes and behavior manifested by the Harris graduate within the actual classroom situation. What is suggested is that the behavioral and interactional processes evident within the classroom cannot fully be understood without consideration of the beliefs and expectations the teacher brings to that classroom (Anderson, 1939; Bruner, 1960; Combs, 1965; Conant, 1963; Shaplin, 1962). The teacher training program at Harris Teachers College is examined for it is believed to contribute to the formation of attitudes and values manifested by the individual teacher within the classroom.

The first two years of the teacher training program at Harris are devoted primarily to an introduction to several substantive areas in the liberal arts plus courses related to elementary school activities such as art, music, and physical education. The schedule for the freshman student appears somewhat flexible, only seven of the sixteen hours being completely designated for the student. These seven hours in the first semester consist of Communication Skills, Introduction to Critical Thinking, and Physical Education. In the second semester, the course Introduction to Critical Thinking is replaced with the course Introducation to the Elementary School. During each of these two semesters, the remaining nine hours may be divided between three hours of elective and six hours of additional required courses[4] but the choice is the student's as to the sequence in which he will take the required courses. It should be noted that the six hours of additional required courses for each semester is standard for the first and third years, while during the sophomore year, nine additional required course hours are designated. Also during the first three years, the student is allowed a three-hour elective course each semester. During the sophomore year, the student is required to take five hours in Art, Music and Physical Education. The remaining twelve hours are divided among the elective and additional required courses.

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[4] The additional required courses that must be completed by the beginning of the senior year consist of two courses in Biology, College Mathematics, English, Physical Science, and United States History. A single course is also required in Geography, Government, School Health and Social Science. With the electives, the student must complete

It is only during the junior year that the student intensively begins professional training. During this year, the student is required to take courses in Educational Psychology, Literature for Children, Language Arts Teaching, Learning Disabilities, and Modern Mathematics for Teachers. The student is also engaged in "Observation-Participation Teaching." Since this is the first occasion in which the student is actually involved in the classroom situation in an elementary school, it would be well to note the formal description of the course (Harris Teachers College Bulletin):

> The students in this course spend three hours each week on campus studying those techniques which are based upon philosophical and psychological principles. Each student spends

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eighteen hours chosen among eighteen substantive areas. There is a requirement, however, that fifteen of the hours must be completed in one of the areas. Thus the student is exposed to only two of the eighteen possible areas of study. The eighteen elective areas are Art, Biology, Black Studies, English, Foreign Language, Geography, Government, History, Humanities, Library Science, Mathematics, Music, Psychology, Physical Science, Science, Social Science, Sociology-Anthropology, Speech Education, and Speech and Theater Arts.

> some two and one-half hours each week in an elementary school. This is done in groups of about twenty for six weeks and then in pairs for the remainder of the semester. All visits to the schools are planned and supervised jointly by the campus classroom teacher and the teachers being visited. The first visits are primarily for the observation of selected techniques. While working in pairs there is considerable participation in the elementary classroom activities. The observation-participation part of the program is evaluated by the classroom teacher as a part of the Technique of Teaching Course. The students report on and evaluate their own experiences in this area to a considerable extent.

Connor and Smith (1967) indicate, however, that the actual participation of the students in the classroom activities varied considerably with some teachers allowing the junior students to actually teach while others simply observed. For many of the students, therefore, their first experience with an actual teaching situation does not occur until they are in the last semester of their college training. It is during this semester that the student is involved in student-teaching, or as referred to in the Harris Bulletin, "Apprentice Teaching."

At the beginning of the semester in which the student will be involved in the activities of the elementary school classroom, a bulletin is provided entitled, Apprentice Teaching Program (1967). Connor and Smith in their review of this bulletin developed a series of statements that they believe reflect the stated general objectives of the apprentice program.

1. Understanding the "development of skills in each subject-matter area from Kindergarten through Grade VIII."
2. Understanding the "importance and relation of learning in primary levels to middle and upper grades."
3. Understanding the nature of good classroom organization and management.
4. Understanding good teaching techniques with individuals and groups.

5. Knowing classroom techniques or devices that are helpful to the teacher.
6. Knowing about the school services in the building.
7. Becoming acquainted with and knowing how to fill out school records.
8. Understanding differences in background and behavior of pupils from different socio-economic areas.
9. Knowing how to evaluate pupil learning.
10. Understanding the necessity of continuing development of one's knowledge in all the subject areas taught.
11. Understanding the importance of developing good working relationships with the principal, teachers, pupils, other members of the staff and parents.
12. Developing an understanding of children.
13. Developing enthusiasm for teaching.

As noted in the last section, the data strongly indicate that the racial identification of the apprentice teacher is a significant factor in determining the assignment to the schools for the apprentice teaching experience. The bulletin of the college, of course, does not indicate this practice, but rather deals with the assignment to the various schools as it relates to the personnel and time periods involved.[5]

Until January of 1970, the program was structured so that each apprentice spent two weeks to a classroom in each of the ten teaching levels from kindergarten through ungraded primary and up to the eighth grade. The program was referred to by both the students and staff as the "two by two" program, indicating the shift each two weeks to a new classroom. It was also the case that the schedule called for the apprentice to teach the even grade levels at one school and the odd at the other. With the revision in the curriculum, the students no longer spend only two weeks with a class, but depending upon the grade level, they may spend up to four weeks with any one class. The length of stay at each of the two schools has been shortened by one week from ten to nine weeks. As was the case with the prior schedule there is some adjustment made by sex to allow the women a longer teaching period in the primary grades and a shorter period in the upper grades. The reverse is the case for the men, with the fewest weeks spent in the primary and the highest number in the upper grades.

As the basis for the shift from each apprentice spending two weeks with five different classes to either two, three or four weeks with only three grades, the Apprentice Teaching Program listed five "Advantages of the Revised Schedule":

1. Allows principals greater flexibility in assigning apprentices to cooperating teachers.
2. Reduces the number of cooperating teachers required for each apprentice from five to three for any nine week period.
3. Allows the apprentice greater opportunity for developing long range planning (ordering of audio-visual materials, carrying through units of study to completion, etc.).
4. Allows principals to evaluate the apprentice and report the final grade to the college after completion of the apprentice's assignment to a school.

During the eighteen-week period that the students are involved in the apprentice teaching program, they are expected to spend Monday through Friday at the college to participate in a four-hour course entitled "Classroom Management, Materials, Measures and Guidance." The course is taught by the supervisor of the apprentice program and is designed to be a reflection session on the activities of the apprentices during the past week.

While there is not yet available a revised schedule specifying

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[5] Such is an example of what Merton (1957) termed the variations in activities as being either "manifest" or "latent" in relation to bureaucratic organizations.

the duties of the apprentice, the earlier edition of the Apprentice Teaching Program noted in detail the schedule developed for each of the two-week sessions. It may be assumed that the initial pace of gradual involvement in classroom activities will remain approximately the same, with more intensive involvement in the third and fourth weeks under the new schedule.

> On Monday of the first week the apprentices observe all day. They begin to learn the names of the pupils,note any peculiarities or deviances of pupils, note how the regular teacher has organized the classroom in order to carry out her teaching tasks, and begin to become acquanited with the curriculum and the levels at which the pupils are working. The apprentice should begin teaching on the second day--one lesson. "Each day one or more lessons should be added until, by the end of the two-week period the apprentice has had a full day teaching program. In some cases the apprentice might teach one group or one class for the entire two-week period. The apprentice should have the room alone on Thursday of the last week in the room. This means that classroom teacher is not in the room." (Harris Teachers College, Apprentice Teaching Program).

Included in the Apprentice Teaching Program bulletin is a list of statements that are to serve as guidelines for the apprentice while she is in the schools. They are included to give further indication of the formal ideology of the school system as to how the acceptable apprentice is viewed. All twenty statements are listed under the heading, "WHAT MAKES A GOOD APPRENTICE."

1. Observations of the teacher and pupils are keen.
2. Assignments and instructions are clearly stated, understood and anticipates pupil difficulty. /sic/
3. Motivating devices are economical of time.
4. Opportunities are provided for pupils to exercise judgement and apply common sense.
5. Chalkboards and bulletin boards are used to advantage.
6. Penmanship is good.
7. Apprentice-pupil relationship reveals a fine spirit of cooperation.

8. Community resources are utilized.
9. Visual aids are employed.
10. The term "sit down apprentice" does not apply.
11. Concerns himself vitally with skill development.
12. Concerns himself with pupil behavior, use of materials, time and equipment.
13. Writing on the chalkboard is visible to all while it is being used.
14. Feels no hesitance about writing on the chalkboard.
15. Plans in advance.
16. Uses the experience of the class.
17. Enriches himself by reading and interviewing profusely in case his background courses and experiences have been limited.
18. Develops new material with the class before it is assigned.
19. Knows where to get supplementary materials and how to use them.
20. Avoids exclusive use of the lecture method of presentation.

It should be noted that not one of these twenty criteria determining a "good apprentice" involves the question of whether the apprentice should be concerned with stimulating creativity or insight on the part of the child.

In addition to these twenty guidelines for classroom behavior on the part of the apprentice, the Apprentice Teaching Program bulletin also lists five considerations for the apprentice under the heading of "PERSONAL IMPROVEMENT." These are as follows:

1. Have good attendance and be punctual.
2. Be alert. Use good judgement in relationship with the principal, teachers, pupils, other members of the staff and the parents.
3. Dress appropriately and be carefully groomed. (emphasis in original)
4. Improve your language usage, spelling and penmanship.
5. Ask for criticism and help from the teachers and principal.

In addition to the teaching responsibilities of the apprentice, there are a variety of related activities that she must engage in during the apprentice-teaching program. In each of the two schools in which the apprentice is to spend nine weeks, she is to spend at least one day with the school social worker. Likewise, she is to attend any schoolwide functions which may include Parent Teacher Association meetings or school assemblies. If the principal should request the apprentice to attend school faculty meetings, she is expected to be present. The apprentice at the end of each nine-week period is to complete a questionnaire for the college detailing her experiences at the school and of what significance they were to her. At the end of the semester, she is to write a report evaluating her experience and detail a comparison of the activities at the two schools. Although it is not required, it is strongly recommended to all apprentices that they keep a notebook for future reference which should contain reminders, practical hints on lessons, samples of classroom work, suggestions from supervisors or classroom teachers and personal observations. During the entire eighteen-week program, the apprentice is also expected to complete a weekly record form indicating the lessons taught (lesson plans to be included), the subject of the lesson, follow-up lessons on the same topic, materials utilized for the lesson and personal evaluation of performance.

During the period of the apprentice program, the apprentice is supervised and evaluated by three different persons. The first to be involved in the process is the cooperating teacher in the elementary school classroom. She is responsible for giving much of the "on the job" training to the apprentice, as well as submitting a final evaluation of her performance.

In the revised Apprentice Teaching Program bulletin (1970) the College has developed a series of suggestions on how the classroom teacher can be of help to the apprentice:

1. Plan with and have conferences with the apprentice.
2. See that the apprentice has a well balanced schedule for observing and for teaching . . .
3. The apprentice should form the habit of making a workable outline for each lesson taught. The outline should show: Date, Subject to be Taught, Level or Grade, Main Objective, Materials to be used, Procedure, Follow-up Assignment and Evaluation to see that the objective has been achieved. All outlines should be checked by the teacher before the lesson is taught by the apprentice. All outlines are to be shown to the supervisor when he/she visits the apprentice . . . The habit of carefully planned lessons and an easy reference outline for all lessons taught should be established. This is the mark of an efficient apprentice.
4. Stress the importance of:
   a) Careful assignments (Class work and home work)
   b) Checking papers (When and how)
   c) Careful preparation and follow-up on Educational Field Trips.
5. See that the apprentice is provided with:
   a) Course of study
   b) Guides
   c) Textbooks and Teacher's editions
   d) Audio-Visual Handbook, etc., and understands how to use them
6. See that the apprentice becomes familiar with the forms you use daily in your rooms: S-1, S-2, etc.
7. See that the apprentice becomes familiar with the routine of the room:
   a) Pencil sharpening
   b) Distribution of materials
   c) Ordering of supplies
      1) Regular
      2) Audio-visual
   d) Recess schedule
   e) Yard, lunchroom and basement duties (The apprentice is never assigned to these duties alone!)
8. Familiarize the apprentice with the various tests used and how they are recorded for future reference.
9. Have the apprentice aware of:
   a) School social worker
   b) Music consultant
   c) Art consultant
   d) Physical education consultant
   e) Supervisors
   f) Testing service
10. In some schools one teacher is designated as the apprentice sponsor. In this case he/she works with the apprentices on all practices, routines, and records common to all levels of the school (Items 6, 7, 8, 9)

11. Discretion should be used in marking the apprentice. The report on the apprentice should be sent to the principal the Monday of the week after the apprentice leaves the teacher's room.

It should be evident that the major thrust of the help the teacher can afford the apprentice is to teach her mechanisms of managing children, materials and records.

At the end of the apprentice's stay in the classroom of the cooperating teacher, the teacher is to formally evaluate the performance of the apprentice. The College provides the teacher with a form whereby the teacher may evaluate the apprentice in four major areas: Personal qualifications, Professional qualifications, Instructions and Classroom management. In the area of personal qualifications, the teacher is to consider the apprentice in relation to five criteria: understanding of children, enthusiasm for teaching, cooperation with staff, punctuality, dress and grooming. For professional qualifications, there are considerations of use of English, spelling, pehmanship and knowledge of subject matter. Instruction is rated in the areas of preparation of classroom work, skill in presentation of lesson and ability to stimulate interest. Finally, the apprentice's classroom management is marked in the areas of discipline, use of voice, record keeping and care of materials and equipment. For each of these criteria within the four general areas, the teacher may evaluate the apprentice with the grade of A, B, C, D, or F. The teacher is also provided with space in which to make comments on the "strengths" and "weaknesses" of the apprentice. Finally, the classroom teacher is to designate either "yes" or "no" whether she believes that the apprentice is suited for teaching at the particular grade level. As

Connor and Smith (1967) indicate, this final evaluative criteria gives indication of the connection between the suitability of the apprentice for that grade level and the high probablility of later job placement within the city schools.

The principal, who is the second person involved in the supervision and evaluation of the apprentice, is responsible for conferring with the apprentice periodically throughout her stay in the school, and ultimately piecing together the reports of the five teachers with whom the apprentice worked into a final grade for the entire school experience. The principal in his final report on the apprentice also notes the number of days that the apprentice was present, the grades in which she taught, and the amount of time spent on other school-related activities. As a further indication of the close relation between the teachers college and the public schools, the principal is asked to designate whether he would like the apprentice assigned to his school upon graduation and for what grade he believes her to be best suited.

The college supervisor, the third in the succession of evaluators, besides filing her own report, also indicates at the top of the principal's report whether she concurs with the principals evaluation. The college supervisor has the general responsibility to insure that the apprentice engages in the appropriate activities as outlined in the Apprentice Teaching Program issued by the college. The college supervisor not only has contact with the apprentice though the classroom activities in the elementary school, but the apprentice is also a member of the supervisor's college course on classroom organization and management. Thus the supervisor ultimately has the greatest authority in determining the final grade of the apprentice for the program, and more importantly, determining for the school officials at what grade level the apprentice should be placed within the city school system upon graduation.

The general picture that emerges of the apprentice-training program at Harris Teachers College is one of strong adherence to traditional methods of teacher training. The constraints upon the apprentice inhibiting innovation and creativity appear quite formidable for all criteria by which she is evaluated indicate an orientation towards a rather mechanistic approach to teaching. Thus the apprentice in innovating and experimenting within the classroom situation is jeopardizing both her final evaluation and also her possibility of securing a position upon graduation. The result of the orientation that the teachers college has towards teacher training is that the apprentice has little or no experience with innovative teaching, whether by team teaching, departmentalization or an unstructured classroom experience in which the teacher guides the children towards the development of their own personal interests. Much in the training program would appear to be the antithesis of that advocated by John Dewey, the progressive educator (1915). Whereas Dewey advocated a supportive and child-centered classroom with little routinization and formalization, the training of the apprentices within the St. Louis system appears to emphasize classroom management and discipline as the prime consideration in the establishment of classroom control.

The apprentice teaching program with the emphasis upon management of children, the preservation of equipment and prompt completion of records, I would suggest, reflects quite clearly the general state of affairs of the St. Louis school system. The sluggishness of the school system to respond in an imaginative and creative way to the vast change in the racial composition of the student population, the lack of meaningful attempts towards further integration of the city schools, the concentration of the decision-making authority with the board, and the isolation of the superintendent from the community, all display a strong "goodness of fit" with the methods by which teachers are trained for the city schools. The traditionalism of the school system in terms of teacher training procedures and the suspicion of innovation in methods of classroom activity is reflected also in failure to reform the outdated curriculum, bring children together in their diversity of backgrounds and experiences and give the community, which is ultimately affected by the methods of education utilized in the schools,a voice in how their children should be educated.

Having sought in the scope of this chapter to provide an analysis of the St. Louis public school system in terms of understanding positions of decision-making authority, receptiveness to innovative educational techniques, conditions of racial isolation among pupils and staff, formal training of a large number of the teachers in the schools, and the response to a shift in the racial composition of the student population, the following chapter will seek to analyze the impact of these conditions upon a single elementary school within the city. The thrust of the analysis will be to ascertain the general milieu of the school and the conditions in which children experience the learning and socialization processes of public education. As the scope of analysis narrows from the macro-level of the system to a smaller unit--the school, the specificity of describing the processes should increase. As the unit of analysis decreases in scope, so will the number of children considered within that unit also decrease. Within Merton's (1957) conceptual framework, one may say that the school provides an excellent unit for "middle range" analysis--between the entire city public school system and the individual classroom.

CHAPTER IV

ATTUCKS SCHOOL

1. INTRODUCTION

A block away from a large throughfare that many whites travel each morning into downtown St. Louis and return home on in the evening, stands Attucks School. Attucks School is located on the north side of the city in the black ghetto. It shares a city block with several small homes, two burned-out buildings, a liquor store and a filling station. Nearby are two small grocery stores, four store-front churches and a used-tire and battery shop. The residential units in the vicinity of the school are primarily small single-family dwellings and duplex apartments. In 1965, the census tract including Attucks School was listed as being ninety-eight percent black (Liu, 1967). The racial composition of the school reflects quite clearly the composition of the neighborhood. All nine hundred-plus students are black, as are all teaching faculty, administrators, secretaries, special service personnel, and janitors. Since Attucks School was built early in the 1960's, a white child has never attended the school.

Premises

The outside appearance of Attucks School varies, depending upon the rate at which the janitors replace the broken windows and pick up the broken bottles and litter, from resembling a building under siege to a typical new two-story elementary school found in numerous suburbs surrounding the city. At the very beginning of the school year, the building is most attractive, but it steadily disintegrates in appearance as the year progresses. During the first weeks of school, there are flowers blooming at the base of the flag pole and around the main entrance to the school. The grass is mowed, and the shrubs along the front of the building are trimmed and free of weeds. The large playground which surrounds the school on two sides is free from glass and trash. The five-foot high fence encompassing the playground has no leaves caught at its base. With the coming of winter, less is done to keep up the appearance of the outside of the building. By spring, the perennial flowers must push their way up through layers of paper, glass and unraked leaves. The band-aids run short as the number of cuts and scrapes from cans and glass on the playground increases. The most consistent work that is done in winter is the continual covering of broken windows with sheets of plywood. The long rows of windows on the front of the building achieve a checkerboard effect of wood alternating with glass. It is not until late in the spring that the glass and litter is cleared away, the plywood replaced with glass, and the playgrounds swept.

As one enters Attucks School through the main entrance into the large and spacious foyer, the offices of the administrators and special service personnel are to the left, two gymnasiums and the library are directly ahead and the classrooms are along a corridor to the right. The building has two floors only in the classroom wing with the primary grades on the first floor and the upper grades on the second. In the foyer, above the eye level of an adult, are five prints. Two are facsimilies of prehistoric paintings, a third appears to be in the style of Jackson Pollack, a fourth resembles the technique of Grandma Moses, and the last is a still life of a bowl of fruit and a vase. In one corner of the foyer is the American flag. The floor resembles a huge checkerboard with block tile set in a design of four-tile squares of alternating colors, green and white. In the classroom corridor, the floors are all white tile with green tile bordering the walls.

Outside the offices of the principal and the secretaries is what both the staff and the students refer to as the "bull-pen." This is the area, railed off on two sides, where visitors, students and parents wait to see the principal. On the inside of the railing are four long wooden benches. In one corner of the bull pen is the mimeograph machine available to the teachers. The two secretaries have desks behind a counter in an office immediately next to the office of the principal. The two offices are connected by a door. On one of the walls in the office of the secretaries is hung a calendar and on another are two replicas in black plastic of African masks. In the principal's small office is his desk and chair along with the console for the public address system in the school. There is room for only two chairs to one side of his desk for visitors. The third in the consecutive row of offices is that utulized by the school nurse and the school counselor. Since the nurse is at the school only two half-days per week, the room is primarily used by the counselor. The room is also made available to the doctor when present for school-wide immunization programs. The fourth and last room in this area of the building is a combination teacher's lounge and band room. The band director uses the room during the regular class sessions and teachers use it during recess and lunch periods. The room contains several couches, chairs and two long tables, as well as a refrigerator, stove and sink. There is a bulletin board in the room used by the principal to post announcements and also by the teachers for messages relating to union meetings, illness among the staff and various faculty activities such as volleyball games and room numbers of teachers selling candy or greeting cards.

If one walks straight ahead from the foyer, first on the right is the library and next a storage room and the office for the janitors. Immediately across from the library is the larger of the two gymnasiums which serves as the auditorium during assemblies and Parent-Teacher Association meetings. Children in the fourth through eighth grades have planned physical education classes in this gym. The smaller of the two gyms has been converted into a dining hall for children who eat at school. Children may eat at school either by bringing their own lunch from home or by buying a twenty-five cent cold lunch from the school. The office of the men's physical education instructor is off the larger gym and the instructor for the girls has her office in a room off the smaller converted gym. At the very end of the hall is a set of double doors that serve as one of three entrances for the children onto the playground.

To the right after entering the building is a long corridor containing the entrances to nine classrooms, two restrooms and two entrances to the playground. Along the right side of the corridor doors open to six classrooms. Between the doors are large bulletin boards one reserved for each room. Along the left wall is first a set of stairs leading to the second floor. Next comes a closet containing the audio-visual equipment for the first floor. There is then a girls' restroom followed by an entrance onto the playground. Continuing along the hall, there are two classrooms, an entrance to the playground, and a restroom for the boys. At the end of the hall is the entrance to the kindergarten classroom. Both of the entrances to the playground are located next to stairs to the second floor. The floor plan of the second floor is identical to that of the first floor with the exception that there are no direct entrances onto the playground, but rather stairways to the first floor. Directly above the kindergarten classroom is the special education room.

On my first visit to the school (9/6/67) which occurred two days before the beginning of the school year, I made the following notes relating to the inside appearance of the building:

> All the walls on the first floor were soft colors, yellow, blue, green and beige. The color scheme was to have a darker tone near the floor and then a lighter tone near the ceiling. The floors were all very clean and waxed. There were no noticeable marks on the walls such as skuff marks, handwriting, crayon markings, etc. The whole building appeared clean and very well kept. It reminds me of walking through a modern hospital with each of the doors to classrooms being doors to large wards. The atmosphere was aseptic.

II. ATTUCKS SCHOOL: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MILIEU

In seeking to understand the social and cultural milieu of a particular school, it is necessary to examine a number of the facets of of the organizational structure within the school, both formal and informal. Likewise, it is important to examine the values, perceptions and attitudes of those involved in the educational endeavor either as teachers or administrators, and the ways in which such are manifested within the confines of the school. The relations which the school develops both with the community and with the larger organizational structure of the public school system must also be noted for both appear to impinge upon the daily routines and behavioral patterns present in the school. The present chapter will not attempt to describe all facets of the Attucks School, but rather state and discuss what are believed to be social and cultural themes or attributes present in the school. In such a manner it is hoped to elucidate the objective as well as the subjective aspects of the milieu of the school where administrators, teachers and students come together daily to create and maintain patterns of social organization and socialization.

Violence and Control

Though the appearance of the building and the silence in the halls during class periods gave the impression of a rather tranquil setting, the underlying current of violence was always present in the school. Corporal punishment was administered by the teachers as well as by the principal in disregard of the rules governing the striking of children. According to public school regulations, no child is to be struck except by the principal and then in the presence of the classroom teacher. There appeared to be an informal agreement among the teachers that nothing be said about the practice--primarily because most of the teachers appeared to engage in the activity themselves. The teachers appeared to believe that the children lacked the self-control necessary to maintain their conduct in the halls and that the threat or use of violence was necessary to keep them "on the line."

During the periods of the day when there were large numbers of children in the hallways at one time, the teachers came out of their rooms and stood by their doorways. They would all carry long rattans of four or five feet in length, completely wrapped in white adhesive tape. There appeared to be a general assumption shared by all the teachers as well as by the principal that their implicit threat of violence was necessary to insure that the children would move in an orderly fashion in the halls. Though the use of the rattans to strike the children was not observed with great frequency, there were several occasions when I observed the implicit threat transferred into explicit violence.

> As I left the kindergarten classroom at 2:05 P.M., the bell had just rung to begin recess. As I entered the hall, I was struck by the amount of violence I observed. Two boys were fighting with one another while a teacher was hitting them both on the back of the neck with a long rattan. There was a great deal of shouting. The halls appeared to be in complete chaos. A number of the teachers were out of their rooms and carrying their rattans. It was evident that even with the teachers carrying their rattans and hitting the children, they were not in control of the situation. Today there is more violence and aggression displayed by the teachers than I have seen any day so far this year. (2/15/68)

On another occasion, though I did not observe the actual use of the rattans on the children, the mannerisms of a teacher indicated that she was not against using it on the children.

> As I walked from the kindergarten classroom towards the principal's office during the recess period, I saw several teachers gathered around a group of students. One

> teacher called out in a loud voice, "Okay, now stay on that line. Boy, get yourself back on that line." This she said in a rather firm and harsh voice. The four teachers by this group of students all carried their rattans and one teacher kept hitting the side of her leg with her rattan. (9/14/67)

The control of the children was also a concern of teachers in the the school during the regular class sessions.

> As I walked with several of the children from the kindergarten room to the nurse's office, we passed the room of one of the fourth grade teachers. She was standing by her desk and we could quite easily hear her shout at one of the children: "You shut your big fat mouth and keep your head on the table or I'll keep it there for you." (3/24/68)

The teachers'periodic discussion of methods of controlling the children and the necessity for doing so appeared to indicate that they perceived the children as extremely violence prone. Thus within the classroom, they indicated it was only their continual and persistent utilization of control-oriented behavior that inhibited the emergence of violence and the disruption of the teaching process. The grade level at which one taught for at least some of the teachers appeared to be decided upon by how well the teacher believed she could control the children.

> On the way to the teacher's lounge, Mrs. Benson introduced me to one of the special education teachers on the second floor, Mrs. Warner. The three of us began discussing the special education class in the school and Mrs. Benson indicated that she had received a minor in special education at Harris Teachers College. Mrs. Warner indicated that the other special education teacher and herself both enjoyed teaching special education, but that she herself would not mind going back to teaching children in a regular class. She stated that she would especially like to teach kindergarten because they "were all such cute little dolls. They will do anything you want." Mrs. Benson then commented that she doesn't really like to teach the second grade, "because you have to spend so much time with them individually." She said, though that she did

> like the children because they were so lovable. "They will come up and love me and hug me and want to kiss me. You know, I am afraid to shout at them because they are so small and so cute that I am afraid that I will make one of them cry." Mrs. Warner then commented that the warmth of the children was one of the reasons that she liked kindergarten. She then noted, "you, girl, you will never get me teaching some of those older kinds. They would just as soon hit you as look at you." Mrs. Benson agreed and stated that was the reason that she will never teach above the third grade level. She stated that children beyond the third grade are so "tough and hard" that one can "not do anything with them."

As was the case with the discussion between the special education teacher and Mrs. Benson expressing fear of older students, the seventh grade teacher indicated in response to a question from me that she decided to teach seventh grade only after she knew she could "control them." Whereas the second grade and special education teachers decided not to try to cope with older students, the seventh grade teacher stated that since she could handle the students, she would rather teach them instead of the younger "cry babies."

> Mrs. Crawford indicated that she doesn't worry too much about any of the students "jumping her" because they are all so "pusy." She stated that she does have one boy who gives her a lot of trouble, but she smiled and said, "He chooses to stay home a lot so I don't have to worry." One of the other teachers said, "You mean David?" and Mrs. Crawford responded, "Who else." Then several of the other teachers began to speak about David and his brothers and sisters in the school. They also commented about his mother coming to the school and "nagging them" about the grades given to her children. Several of the teachers commented that they would be glad when the children have all left the school for then they will not have to deal with the mother. (9/16/69)

With the very young children, a different technique was occasionally utilized--that of fear of punishment in the extreme beyond the experience of the child.

> As I walked past the door to the first grade classroom, I heard the teacher, Mrs. Logan, comment to the children that

> she does not like to eat little boys and little girls. She states that she is not a mean animal. She says that she is their very best friend in the school and anytime they ever have anything to tell her or ask her, they should do so because she is their friend. She then said, "I've never eaten a little boy or girl in my whole life." Her voice then became quite harsh and she continued, "But when you want to go to the bathroom, you have to ask me, you cannot simply get up and walk out of the room." (9/12/69)

Though the teacher indicated that she had never eaten a child and that she did not enjoy doing so, she never ruled out that it might not happen should the children fail to ask permission for leaving the room for the restroom. On another occasion during a field trip with the second grade class to a large building in downtown St. Louis, the teacher warned the children that they would have to stay away from the edge of the stairs or she would throw them over the railing to the floor two stories below. The children appeared to have no reason to doubt her word and they all moved down the stairs staying very close to the wall. Such threats as being eaten or thrown over a railing would be dismissed by an adult as hollow threats, but when one is five years old and very likely on the first trip to a large building, such threats by the teacher are not in the realm of the impossible. Rather the threats are those of an activity not previously seen or experienced.

When a teacher was to be out of her room for any length of time, it was an accepted practice in the school for a student from one of the eighth grade classes to come into the room and supervise the children. The older child was allowed to use whatever methods necessary to maintain control in the class. The result of one such situation resulted in rather serious consequences:

> As I was about to leave the nurse's office with Brad, four young girls walked into the office, one of them crying very loudly, almost hysterically. The nurse calmly walked over to them and asked what was the matter. One of the girls not crying explained that this girl had just come back to school after an eye operation and that a big girl in the classroom had hit her with a stick. The child that had been hit was in the first grade. The child was all bent over and I could not tell what damage had been done to the eye. As I shortly walked back to the kindergarten classroom, I passed the first grade room. I looked in through the window and observed a very large eighth grade girl walking around the room indiscriminately striking the children with the rattan. Almost all of the children were out of their seats and making attempts to keep out of the reach of this large girl. Several of the children were crying, one boy was holding the back of his neck and a girl was holding her arm. The older girl continued to stalk around the room attempting to reach the children to strike them. She was shouting for them to "shut up," "sit down" and "git back in your seats." I entered the room and as I did the teacher from the room across the hall followed me. She dismissed the eighth grade student and told the first grade students to get ready for recess. Several of the children were still sobbing. (3/28/68)

When the teacher dismissed the eighth grade girl, she did so without rebuke. The teacher merely indicated that the girl could leave as it was time for recess and that she would now take the children out to recess with her own class. The situation in itself was apparently not perceived as warranting any admonition by the teacher.

Older children were also used to control younger children in several other ways. The eighth grade boys were the school patrol boys who not only had the responsibility of helping the children in crossing the streets safely before and after school, but in maintaining quiet and order in the halls of the school during lunch period. During the lunch period, two teachers were assigned to the playground along with four patrol boys. There were also four patrol boys assigned to the inside corridors of the school. These boys were observed literally bullying and pushing smaller children in the halls, forcing them out of the halls onto the playground. The patrol boys on the playground had the responsibility along with the teachers of lining up the children by grade before they could re-enter the school after a recess or lunch period. The patrol boys would push and shove the children into lines on the playground and then shove them as they began to walk inside. All the children marched double file into the school with the younger grades first, girls before boys. The children in the upper grades were also used as lunchroom monitors to supervise the younger children as they ate. No teachers were assigned to lunchroom duty. Supervision was assumed by the cooks and the older children with the physical education instructors and the principal occasionally present. The violence system of the school was a hierarchical one with all teachers and principal able to exercise violence against any children and the older children against the younger. At least some of the children recognized this, for conversation with several fourth graders indicated that they wished they were eighth grade patrol boys so they could "beat up" with impunity those whom they did not like.

Though there was a good deal of violence within the school, it appeared to reflect the presence of violence in the large cultural milieu. The children during their "show and tell" periods spoke of their homes being burgalarized or their parents robbed on the streets. The teachers also occasionally commented that either their car or the car of a friend had been stolen or "stripped." Several teachers had their cars stolen from in front of the school during classes.

On one occasion when I came to the school, the children were very excited and related that there had just been a murder in front of the school. A man walking on the sidewalk was fired on from a passing car. On another occasion, I witnessed the police chasing several fugitives in front of the school and a number of shots were fired. I once observed a very real threat of danger to the kindergarten teacher, as two men came off the street and intruded into the classroom.

> Two men, appearing to be in their early twenties, walk into the classroom and stand by the door. The kindergarten teacher walks over to them and asks what they are doing. They reply that they are watching. She becomes very firm and tells them that they will have to leave the school. At first, they refused to move and she then again says, "I'm asking you to leave or I will go and call the principal." They then leave the classroom and stand in the hallway. She asks them if either has a pass to be in the building and they state that they do. She asks to see it and they tell her that they aren't going to show it to her. She then goes to the first grade classroom indicating that she will call the office. The men leave the building and she soon returns to the class. She comments to me that the teachers on the first floor are often bothered by intruders off the street. She stated that they are "roughhousers" that are no longer in school and want to cause trouble for the teachers and the students. The kindergarten teacher appears quite disturbed and upset. Before she goes back in front of the class, she states, "It's awfully hard to teach when you have to be policeman too." (2/27/68)

With no other means at her disposal, the kindergarten teacher attempted to bluff her way out of the situation and have the men leave without incident. I state that it was a bluff because there was no phone in the first grade classroom by which the teacher could contact the office. There is a two-way communications system in the building but the switch to activate the system is located in the principal's office. The teachers spoke of this type of event on several occasions and expressed anxiety over the lack of security in the school during class hours. They stated that with each teacher isolated in her room, there was little chance of any teacher being able to perceive if another was in danger. (This same situation is also a threat in the public schools of East St. Louis, Illinois, and my personal observation is that many of the teachers have resorted to bringing either guns or knives to the schools.)

Patterns of Reciprocity

Attucks School is one sub-unit of a larger organized and structured bureaucratic organization, the public school system. The school is connected to the larger organization by a series of factors, including financing, curriculum development, teacher training and means of promotion and advancement. There are a series of stated regulations which each of the individual schools in the city must follow and the authority to insure compliance of such regulations lies with the administration of the school system. The individual school appears to reflect in micro-cosim the entire school system in that it also has a series of regulations and rules that must be followed. On this level the principal of the school also must function as one in authority who insures that the regulations and goals of the organization are not disregarded. As Gouldner (1954) and many others have noted, within a bureaucracy and its series of formal regulations and rules there also develops informal norms and patterns of behavior. Thus in the organization of the individual school, there are present both formal and informal norms governing the patterns of behavior, not only for the students, but also for the teachers and administrators. Perhaps the clearest example observed during the course of the study of the impact of failing to adhere to established norms involved the two principals who were at

Attucks School. The first, Mr. Miller, was in the school during the 1967-1968 and 1968-1969 school years. The second, Mr. Elder, assumed responsibilities as the principal on September 1, 1969.

The formalized responsibilities of the principal in the school appear to be those related to guaranteeing the organizational efficiency of the teaching staff and insuring that the process of educating the children progresses unimpeded. He serves as the administrator of the individual school who is to supervise all formal activities related to the school. Though the principal has the authority to insure that the educational guidelines for the instruction of the children are used, he appears to be rather curtailed in his powers to innovate or impliment programs of his own design. He does not have the power to either employ or discharge a teacher, he may not set the budget for his school and the supervision of any curriculum changes rests with the district supervisor. The district supervisor also has the greater authority in the evaluation and supervision of the apprentice-teachers in the school.

The principal appears to be placed in the position of having been delegated the responsibility for the school and its functions, but not delegated the absolute authority to insure that the school functions properly. This appears to be especially the case with the teaching staff. The principal is dependent upon the teacher performing in their roles as teachers and accepting his leadership in order for the school to function. Yet he does not have the formal power to dismiss those teachers who would not comply with his "requests." (The word requests is used advisedly for should he make demands, they may be ignored or challenged, thus creating a direct confrontation as to the exact extent of his authority.) The teachers, on the other hand, appear to be dependent upon the principal in at least one very crucial area, the disciplining of disruptive students from their classroom. The teachers due to bureaucratic regulations need the principal to direct physical punishment against a child. Teachers are not to strike children, but rather such is to be only the perrogative of the principal. In Attucks School, there appeared to have developed an informal norm of reciprocity whereby the teachers granted legitimacy and leadership to the principal in return for his exercise of discipline against those students who disrupted classes. The exchange of granting legitimacy for the exercise of discipline became the informal mechanism employed by teachers and principal alike to insure that the formal bureaucracy maintained the adequating functioning of the school.

During the 1967-1968 school year, the pattern of reciprocity between the principal and the teachers became seriously strained and had nearly been broken by the end of the year. The situation appeared to arise from the teachers perception that the principal, Mr. Miller, was failing to adequately handle the disruptive students sent from the teacher to his office. The teachers claimed that when a disruptive student was sent to the office, Mr. Miller would ask the student involved to have a seat for a period of time in the "bull pen." Occasionally while the student was seated in the bull pen as punishment, Mr. Miller would ask the student to do special errands for him in the building. One teacher related that when a student whom she had sent to the office for disciplining came back in twenty minutes with a message from the principal, she decided to never again send any of her students to the office. Such was the case with a number of the other teachers, most notably those from the upper grades with the older children. An informal boycott of the office and the wishes of the principal developed among many of the teachers. Such was to be their response to the principal's failure to deal in what they believed to be an adequate manner with the disruptive students. The teachers appeared to believe that Mr. Miller was not providnng them with the necessary support to insure that they could teach without disruptions. Thus the informal norm of reciprocity for a number of the teachers was ignored and they began disciplining children within their individual rooms, without the knowledge or permission of the principal. Additional mechanisms employed by the teachers to negate the authority of the principal during the school year included either avoiding or leaving early from staff meetings, failing to participate on committees established by the principal, and not submitting reports to the office by established deadlines.

Within the formal bureaucratic structure of the St. Louis public school system, there has developed a mechanism where by the teachers are able to by-pass the principal in the hierarchy of authority within the system and move directly to the supervisor at the district level. As the displeasure of the teachers with Mr. Miller increased, several teachers made known to me in informal conversations that they had expressed their views to the district office through the district supervisors. When I returned for formal observations in the 1969-1970 school year. I heard on several occasions from different teachers how they had placed pressure on the district office to remove Mr. Miller as principal of Attucks School. Mr. Miller was transferred to another school within the district at the end of the 1968-1969 school year. It would not be possible to state conclusively that the expressed displeasure of the teachers became the major reason for the transfer, but it may have served as a significant catalyst.

Figure 4:1 illustrates the formal lines of authority established within each of the school districts. The formal organizatinn appears to place the principal in such a position that he must seek informal mechanisms of dealing with the teachers for they are not totally without recourse should he displease them. They do have a mechanism within the structure to move to a higher level of authority. Thus the situation at Attucks School appeared to involve the breakdown of informal norms of organization within the school and the subsequent moves on the part of the teachers to reestablish such norms, but with a more receptive principal. The teachers spoke of desiring a principal who "would back them up" in matters of discipline and one upon who they could rely to "keep things straight."

With the transfer of Mr. Miller at the end of the 1968-1969 school year and the replacement, Mr. Elder, assuming the duties in September of 1969, a noticeable shift began to take place in the school. An early indication that Mr. Elder perceived his role as principal in a different way than did Mr. Miller was seen in the meetings of the staff prior to the beginning of school. Whereas Mr. Miller held one meeting two days before school began, Mr. Elder had the teachers in conference three times in two days. Not only did the new principal have

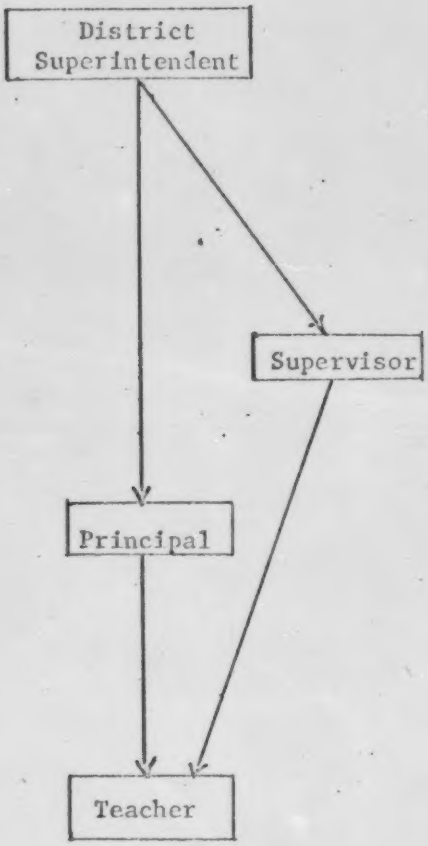

Figure 4:1

ORGANIZATIONAL HIERARCHY IN RELATION TO
DECISION-MAKING AUTHORITY WITHIN
EACH OF THE SCHOOL DISTRICTS
IN THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS

more meetings at the beginning of the school year, he also continued to have staff meetings at least once a week for the first month of school. Mr. Miller had held four staff meetings in the first three months of school.

At the beginning of the 1969-1970 year, the teachers appeared to immediately notice these differences between Mr. Miller and Mr. Elder and began to comment to one another quite frequently about them. The general consensus was that Mr. Elder was going to "run a tight ship" and that the teachers were going to be expected to perform. They commented that though they deliberately left staff meetings held with Mr. Miller, they did not leave during meetings conducted by Mr. Elder. Mrs. Crawford, the seventh grade teacher, stated during a lunch period that she had been planning to transfer the previous year to another school due to Mr. Miller, but when she heard that a new principal was coming, she decided to stay at least one more year. She also noted that she would like for the upper grades to departmentalize. Such a plan would have the teacher teach only one subject, but to a number of different classes. She commented that if the principal agreed to the plan, she might "stay forever." She related that Mr. Miller had refused for three years to discuss with the teachers of the upper grades the question of departmentalization.

At the end of the first month of school, Mr. Elder announced to the teachers that there would no longer be weekly Monday afternoon staff meetings unless there was a serious matter that needed extended discussion. Rather, there would be meetings only once a month, and between meetings memos from the office would be sent to all the teachers supplying them with the necessary information related to school activities. Mr. Elder noted to the teachers that he believed most of the meetings were unnecessary and that the matters could be handled by memorandum. Though both Mr. Miller and Mr. Elder discontinued the regular use of faculty meetings, the reasons for which they did so made very different impressions on the teachers. When Mr. Miller gradually reduced the number of meetings to only one approximately every two months after the Christmas vacation, the teacher interpreted the move as another means of isolating himself from the staff. When Mr. Elder, however, followed the same pattern of scheduling meetings only one every month, the teachers interpreted his move as necessary because "he was involved in so much else around the school."

With the presence of the new principal, Mr. Elder, at the school during the 1969-1970 school year, I did not witness the same high incidence of violence by the teachers as in the previous years when Mr. Miller was the principal. The frequency with which the teachers used their rattans upon the children during recess periods was noticeably less. The continual presence of the principal with the children on the playgrounds and his willingness, in the words of one teacher, to "get down with the children instead of always trying to be above them" probably contributed to the decrease in hall violence.

From the informal conversations of the teachers, I am lead to believe that the amount of classroom violence had also decreased. The teachers commented repeatedly how well they liked the new principal and how he would handle the discipline problems to their satisfaction. The teachers appeared to be extremely pleased on the degree to which he would "back them up" when discipline problems arose. The informal norms of recoprocity appeared to re-emerge quite strongly between the principal and the teachers. The teachers actively complied with the requests of the principal and he in turn decisively dealt with disruptive behavior in the classroom. It is unknown to what degree the teachers and the new principal were able to recognize and verbalize the presence of the patterns of recoprocity within the school. Yet both appeared to recognize the necessity for such patterns for movement towards the establishment of the basis for the exchange began from the first days of school. Teachers began to send disruptive students to the office on the first full day of school. Likewise, there was perfect attendance of all teachers at the first five staff meetings called by the principal.

It must be noted, however, that though Mr. Elder began to support the teachers in discipline matters, the threat of violence and punishment was always present in the school. While the acts of violence in the halls decreased considerably, the teachers occasionally still exercised the use of corporal punishment within their individual classrooms. I observed, both in the second grade room of Mrs. Benson and in the fourth grade room of Mrs. Stern, children were hit with rulers by the teachers.

Within any formal bureaucratic organization there appears to be a need for the development of informal mechanisms to deal with situations and relationships that would otherwise threaten the functioning of that organization itself (Gouldner, 1954). Thus within Attucks School, the demands upon the principal to supervise the functioning of the school and upon the teachers to successfully impart the necessary material to the students were such that one could not be accomplished apart from the other. The reciprocal patterns developed between the principal and the teachers were based on informal norms governing behavior in two crucial areas related to the continued functioning of the school; the acknowledged leadership and authority of the principal and the perceived necessity to deal by means of physical punishment with disruptive students from the various classrooms.

The pattern was advantageous for the principal in that the formal organizations structure of the school system gave the teachers access to a higher level of authority and the principal was powerless to dismiss them should they decide to by-pass him or disregard other of his requests. So long as he could maintain a desirable working relationship with the teachers, he was in no danger of the teachers moving to a higher authority to seek his transfer. Likewise, the teachers did have mechanisms to withhold support making his position untenable and the functioning of the school ineffective. For the teachers, the pattern was also desirable for they consequently, were not forced into the position of having to deal directly with disruptive students. They had a mechanism by which disruptive students could be simply removed from the room rather than remaining and the teacher forced to continually cope with them.

Social and Informational Exchange

All of the teachers at Attucks School were black and other than a seventh grade teacher and the boy's physical education teacher, all were women. Of the eighteen female teachers at the school during the 1967-1968 school year, fourteen were married. Both of the male teachers were also married. The school day for the teachers began shortly after eight o'clock with the children entering the building at eight-thirty. All of the teachers also left the building at the same time in the afternoon, unless there was a teacher's meeting or unusual circumstances that kept them late. The teachers invariably had left the building at three-thirty for at that time the doors were locked by the janitor. If any teacher did remain in the building after that time, she then had the responsibility of finding a janitor to unlock the door.

Given that the teachers spent at least 180 days together in the same building, it is to be expected that a variety of interactional patterns would develop. It will not be a goal of that section to indicate individual friendship or animosity relations for the teachers in the school, but rather to elucidate norms of interaction applicable to all the teachers in the school regardless of individual relations. There did develop among the teachers certain accepted norms as to social and informational exchange. Social events among the teachers did occur where all the teachers were brought together and all expected to participate. Likewise, all teachers were expected to share among one another information believed pertinent to the classroom situation, whether it be on a disruptive student who was moving into the class of another teacher, techniques of discipline and classroom control, or particular parents would be expected to give a teacher a "hard time."

The first of the informal social norms applicable to all the teachers in the school related to the making of coffee in the teachers' lounge. Each day a different teacher was to come to the lounge early in order to have the coffee prepared by the morning recess. In my second week at the school during the 1969-1970 school year, Mrs. Benson, the second grade teacher asked if I would like to join her for a cup of coffee in the teachers' lounge during the morning recess. I indicated that I would.

> As we reached the entrance to the teachers' lounge, I was introduced by Mr. Benson to the other second grade teacher. I exchanged greetings with her and asked if she would care to join us for coffee. She responded, "no, there isn't any. I brought my own cup down here to get a cup of coffee and the teacher that was supposed to make the coffee did not get her butt here to make it." Upon hearing this, both Mrs. Benson and Mrs. Warner became quite irritated and commented to each other on the lack of coffee. Mrs. Warner stated that she thought "somebody would get themselves together and make sure that the water was hot. Otherwise they could leave the pot out and an early teacher at the school could plug it in." Mrs. Benson then commented that she would not rely on anything that the teacher in charge of coffee for the day did anyway. At this point the counselor came into the lounge with the pot full of water and indicated that even though it was not "her day" she would put on the water for the coffee. As we stood outside the lounge, the bell rang and I commented, "Time to go back?" and Mrs. Benson responded, "I'm afraid so." (9/15/69)

Though it was expected of teachers to attend all formal school functions and staff meetings, there had not developed among the teachers themselves either a formal or informal system whereby they would meet to discuss the school and issues of concern to them. The single event in which all teachers participated together was the Thursday morning recess coffee break. There had developed among the teachers in the school the agreement that each Thursday morning a different teacher would serve the rest of the teachers donuts or rolls and coffee.

This agreement was, in a sense, binding upon all of the teachers, whether they came to the lounge for coffee during the rest of the week or not. Thus some teachers would appear in the lounge only on Thursday, either to provide the food or to pick up a roll or donut and return to their rooms. The agreement appeared to entail also that the food was not to be elaborate or involve a great deal of cost. I attended many of these Thursday morning coffee breaks and the amount and kinds of food served were always quite similar. There was, however, one exception:

> As I entered the teachers' lounge, there were already a number of teachers present. They were gathered around two tables which were pushed together and covered with table cloths. On the tables were two lazy-susans filled with various kinds of cheeses, meats,pickles and crackers. There were also plates of deviled eggs and mixed hors d'oeuvres. There was also a plate with three kinds of bread. (11/26/69)

On this particular day, the teacher who was in charge of the coffee hour was the kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Caplow. What she had brought to serve the teachers was unlike anything that any other teacher had brought to date. Though the teachers indicated how pleased they were that Mrs. Caplow had prepared such an extensive brunch for them, there appeared to be some anxiety among them as they talked. The kindergarten teacher appeared to have violated the informal norm of the kind of food brought to the brunch and the teachers were uneasy. They attempted to excuse Mrs. Caplow's display of food as something "one would have to expect from Mrs. Caplow." Likewise, when they spoke to her directly, they made such comments as "Well, I sure would expect something like this out of you because we all know that you never do the ordinary." In a sense, the comments carried a double message. On the one hand the teachers acknowledged that Mrs. Caplow had scored a coup d'etat in relation to her status among the other teachers in the building, but at the same time it was made clear that they perceived her as not part of the "ordinary" group of teachers in the school. With the inclusion of this last point, the teachers could then insure that there would not be an escalation of expectation on what teachers would have to bring to the brunch. So long as the kindergarten teacher could be defined as different, they did not have to readjust their norm for the rest of the teachers. The kindergarten teacher throughout the period of the recess repeatedly commented that she "thought it would be nice if there were someting a little different--something for a change of pace." The teachers agreed, but the norm of simply coffee and rolls remained intact. The following week, the teachers were served danish rolls by the fourth grade teacher.

An additional norm surrounding this weekly Thursday morning brunch was that all teachers were to have some of whatever was served, whether they were able to make it to the lounge or not. On the date when Mrs. Caplow brought the food for the brunch, three of the teachers had taken their classes on a field trip. They were not expected back until after eleven A.M. Several of the other teachers made comments that some of the food should be saved for the absent teachers and that there could be no seconds until plates for the absent teachers had been made. Although these teachers had not brought the food, they merely verbalized the norm of sharing adhered to by the teachers. No teacher did take seconds until after three plates had been made, sealed in aluminum foil and placed in the refrigerator.

Then the remaining food was eaten. When the teachers returned from the field trip, I was still in the lounge speaking with the first grade teacher, Mrs. Logan. When the three teachers entered, their immediate question to Mrs. Logan was to ask where the food was that had been saved for them. Their expectations of food being saved was as strong as those who put the plates aside.

In addition to a series of informal norms among the teachers governing certain social functions within the school, there also developed a series of norms related to the exchange of information believed of concern to the teachers, either individually or as a group. The most important of the informational exchange norms appeared to center on the belief that a teacher was obliged to share with other teachers pertinent information on classroom organization or classroom control. Though there was the occasional trading of suggestions on methods of discipline, the predominant area in which teachers shared information among one another related to persons perceived as disruptive to the classroom routine, whether it be parents or students. Thus when a certain student or parent was perceived as disruptive and disagreeable, the teacher would pass this information to the other teachers, most often at either the recess or lunch period. On several occasions, I noted a teacher making a special effort to inform another teacher of a student forthcoming to her class who was labeled as disruptive.

One such student and his family who had received an undesirable reputation by the teachers was David and his mother (mentioned earlier in the comments of the seventh grade teacher Mrs. Crawford). Between the period of the discussion of David and his mother noted on 9/16/69 and the gathering of the teachers on 10/9/69, David had been transferred to another school, for reasons of classroom overcrowding according to the teacher.

> As the gossip about Miss Stern drew to a close, a teacher from the fifth grade came into the room momentarily and told Mrs. Crawford that she had better "be careful" because she had heard that David was being transferred back to Attucks School. Mrs. Crawford commenced, "That boy better not come back over here, because if he comes, I go. I've already got Jim and Terry, and if I have David besides, it's all over." The teacher who had come into the room responded, "I'm not sure, but I heard the principal talking about it on the phone." "Girl, I sure hope not" was the reply of Mrs. Crawford. (10/9/69)

The informal norm among the teachers to keep one another abreast on matters of concern to them was based on the notion of reciprocity. Regardless of personal relations, the teachers were expected to share information with the teachers directly affected. At no time did I hear a teacher state that she was deliberately withholding information from another teacher due to either personal animosity or belief that the other teacher had failed on a previous occasion to share information. With the incident noted above, the passing of the information related to the phone call gave the teacher the advantage of having necessary knowledge prior to the occurrence of an event--in this case the return of David. Being forewarned, the teacher then had the options of speaking to the principal requesting David be placed in a different room or attempting to arrange an exchange with another of the seventh grade teachers for one of their difficult students in return for David.

Motivation and Achievement--With the Students

It would be neither new nor startling to state that many persons, educators and parents alike, question the effectiveness of the urban public school systems throughout the nation to adequately educate the students. There appears to be widespread belief that the system is, itself, the major cause for the inability of the children to receive a substantive education. The calls for innovation and change from a segment of the population deal with the areas for example of curriculum, facilities, competent teaching staffs, and a voice for the community in the control and/or supervision of the school. The system in its present form is claimed to be incapable to adequately perform its designated function.

Such, however, was not accepted as a serious contention by the staff at Attucks School. In conversations with the teachers and principals alike, there appeared to be an implicit assumption that the school as presently organized was a valid and desirable institution that was faced with a large series of nearly insurmountable obstacles and handicaps. If any of the staff did acknowledge that the children were receiving less than an adequate education in the school, the cause for such shortcomings was laid squarely on the shoulders of the students and their families. Such factors as poverty, broken homes, lack of discipline, lack of interest in the school, and ignorance as to the benefits of education were all cited by the staff as reasons that they would not adequately function as teachers within the classrooms. They appeared to believe that they were forced to deal with children who had been so injured by their environment that they were basically "unteachable."

A major consequence of such pervasive injury to the children was perceived to be the anesthetizing of all motivation on the part of the students. Thus the teachers commented that they felt extremely frustrated in their teaching for they were having to teach children "who did not want to learn."

As a backdrop to the response of the principals within Attucks School to their perception of the students lacking motivation and a desire to achieve, a short aside appears necessary. Within the school, the principals were both constrained in the degree to which they could pursue educational innovation or implementation. Their primary responsibilities appeared to be those of supporting the teachers through the handling of discipline matters, insuring the continued organizational efficiency of the teaching staff and dealing with administrative concern. The principals, appeared to become the key individuals within the school who not only sought to maintain the existence of the school as an institution, but to highlight the positive attributes of that institution. (The emphasis upon positive considerations may in part have been a response to their inability to exercise the necessary authority to alievate the undesirable conditions.)

The principals, in the words of Henry (1963), may be viewed as the "cultural maximizers" for the school. Henry describes the cultural

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[1] The individual differences between the two principals, Mr. Miller and Mr. Elder are not to be ignored. Yet, the very role position of both men appeared to dictate that they would have to perform a high number of similar functions.

maximizer as one whose functious "include organization (i.e., maintaining the level of integration of the culture as it is) and contributing certain qualitative features necessary to the continuance of the cultural life. His function is never to alter the culture radically. He may help to give more intense expression to features that already exist, but he never wants to bring about a fundamental change." Such I believe closely describes the two principals at Attucks School for both accepted the institution of public education and Attucks School as inherently valid and sought to find ways to tie people more closely into that institution. They attempted to give broader and more intense expression to the dominant features of the school that were already in operation. The sanction of corporal punishment and its use throughout the school, methods of iuvolving teachers and students in school-wide functions and attempting to initiate methods to increase the motivation and desire on the part of the students all became mechanisms to give sanctioned expression to the operation of the school. The role of the principal at Attucks School appeared to be one who had little or no power to bring about fundamental change in the structure of the school system, neither in the individual school, nor in the individual classroom. Thus they appeared forced to give sanction to the structure and organization as it existed. New forms of expression of the activities of the institution were not sought, but rather continual reliance on the present activities were emphasized.

The consequence of the above position of the two principals appeared to be that any failure or inability of the school to adequately perform its function was attributed to external forces or conditions.

The children were viewed as being in the grips of circumstances so strong that only the "strongest" (smartest?) would have any opportunity for future success. When Mr. Miller was asked as to "What do you believe will come of these children in life?" he responded:

> Many of these children will go on. Most of them will finish elementary school and most of them, I believe, will start high school. Some will drop out though. A few will finish and go on to college. What I am trying to say is that I don't think that school is going to make that much difference. If it does, you won't really be able to say. Some of the boys will be professionals, but not many. Not that much to make any difference. Most will be at the same level of their families now. Some will be a little better off than their parents. We are not going to be able to greatly up-grade them, but we hope to make them somewhat above their parents. Now I would say that when this generation reaches adulthood, the percentage of those on relief should decrease and that would be an accomplishment in itself.

Likewise, when Mr. Elder was asked what, if any was the major difficulty with which he as principal had to deal, he stated:

> If we could only change attitudes, we could make strides. That's the one reason for the kind of programs that we have here. We're trying to get the kids to come and have fun when they come to school. School shouldn't have to be all work. There should be things that children enjoy also. We want to try and get the kids involved in whatever it is that's going on in the school, whether as an audience or at a sock hop or a sing-along or when they put on a play or even at a volleyball game. We want to make enough opportunities so that we can tell a child if he doesn't fit in one slot, maybe he could fit in another. If we can't change the attitudes of these children, we are going to be teaching a blank wall. We will be teaching at them instead of to them. But if we could start to change children's attitudes, you know, the real bright spot is that it may begin to rub off on the parents. Take the band that was here last Friday from the Air Force base. I would suppose that this is the first time that most of these children have ever seen a band and all the instruments that go to make it up. I think they really enjoyed that program, too. It was rather nice at the

> the very beginning of the program, when the band played the Star Spangled Banner. Our kids hopped to it and jumped right up. You should have seen our children sing along. Maybe there were some older kids before who did not know how to sing the Star Spangled Banner, but now that I play it each morning at 8:40, they all know it. In their own way, they're participating in this school and I hope they enjoy it. (9/24/69)

From the statements of the two principals, there appears to be basis to state that their perceptions of the children in Attucks School were quite similar: the children lacked motivation and the "proper" attitude, and therefore the best the school could do would be to instigate programs geared for appropriate doses of motivational increase. The inherent structure and quality of education in the school was never brought into question. Having provided a backdrop for the discussion of the programs initiated by the principals for motivational increase, the manner in which such programs were established and implimented can now be noted. It is my decision to concentrate only on those programs initiated by Mr. Elder, for they were more broad in scope, though of the same type organized by Mr. Miller. Thus, it is not to be assumed that the principals approached the question of the remedy to lack of motivation in different ways, but only with different intensity. Both principals may be viewed as having accepted as part of their duty at Attucks School, the role of "motivational engineer."

"Self Actualization--Our Goal"

During the 1969-1970 school year, a large banner was hung from the ceiling of the Attucks School lobby with the words "Self Actualization--Our Goal." This phrase served as the slogan for the motivational program initiated by the new principal, Mr. Elder. He had assumed the task of attitude change and motivational increase to be one of his major endeavors of the school year. He asked that the teachers begin a program of utilizing the bulletin boards in the halls as space for messages to the children urging hard work, study and attendance at school. He also began a careers program for the students in the upper grades with the objective to expose them to careers open to them should they stay in school and earn a degree.

In attempting to initiate a program to increase the motivation of the children in the school, Mr. Elder was not acting without precedent. Dr. Samuel Shepard, district superintendent of the Banneker district in the St. Louis school system initiated a program "that sparked the students and teachers and elicited widespread parent participation" (Doyle, 1969). Shepard attempted to build his program in part upon competition between classes and schools for recognition of scholastic achievement. The entire program was funded by money from the federal government. During the first few years, the results indicated a dramatic increase in reading level and competence in arithmetic. The scores on these tests were suspect as to their validity and when standardized tests were administered to the students several years later, the Banneker district scored below the two other black districts in the city. (United States Civil Rights Commission, 1967).

On a much smaller scale and with certain modifications,this was also the approach utilized by Mr. Elder. His use of competition did not focus on academic performance, but upon athletic events where students participated by home room. The use of bulletin boards to encourage the students through slogans and short moralisms was highly similar to the technique employed by Shepard. As indication of the subject content, the following short descriptions of various boards throughout the school is offered:

9/4/69

1) Black youth carrying a sandwich sign--"Grand Opening A Year of Learning"
2) Two signs together, first shows two black children very poorly dressed and at bottom--"Who Am I?"; second sign shows same two children very nicely dressed carrying signs saying, "I Am Somebody--I am courteous, ambitious, honest, neat, respectful and studious." (Both signs in front display case as enter building)
3) Third sign in front display case--Black male and white blond female in academic gowns looking up at cloud. On cloud are color T.V., car, boat, pot of gold, ranch style house and large stack of cash. Letters at top say "Can you climb this ladder?" Ladder between two persons and cloud spells "Education." At bottom of chart are words, "This school can help."

9/11/69

1) Red letters on black background--"We Gave to America." Picture of Martin Luther King

9/12/69

1) Yellow letters at top of board--"You can make it if you try!" Pictures of white males modeling clothes--appears to be cut-out from Sears Catalogue. All white males blond, clean shaven and short hair, also blue eyes

11/11/69

1) "I am Thankful for the Privilege to Learn"--two white blond children kneeling in prayer
2) Charlie Brown and Lucy cartoon--first frame, both are standing outside a school. Charlie Brown states, "I hate school." Second frame--Lucy responds, "Good grief, Charlie Brown, school is what you make it." Third frame--Lucy says, "Why if you are neat, clean, and polite and if you study hard in class and play hard at recess, school can be great." Fourth frame--Charlie Brown responds, "Maybe she is right, maybe it is up to me."
3) "Our government at work" in yellow letters at the top. Below are cutouts of various municipal buildings in the

city. Picture of student on side of buildings saying, "Take me to the real government"
4) Two blond white witches stirring a pot. The first pot is labeled "study" and the second "hard work." Underneath the pots is the caption "The right formula for success"
5) Two white pil rims dressed in traditional costumes. The female is holding a Bible and the male a gun. No working.
6) Indian on his knees making smoke signals. Below fire are words, "Heap good rules." On each puff of smoke is a rule. The first says, "Always walk in the halls." The second, "Be kind to other children." On the third, "Wait quietly at the fountains," and on the fourth, "Play safely on the playground"
7) Red letters at the top state "You Can" and at the bottom of the board continue "Start Now." In the middle of the bulletin board is an article taken from Ebony detailing the life of a black man in Texas who has been making cowboy boots for over forty years

12/10/69
1) A blond white male and female hold signs saying, "I am Somebody." Beneath them is a long poem entitled, "I am Somebody"

Though I am unable to document what effect the use of slogans on the bulletin boards in the halls had on the students in the school, I would surmise, as a personal evaluation, that the impact was neutral at best and negative at worse. Neutral in the sense that the children may simply, from their point of view, have ignored the boards and the predominance of "moralisms" and "whiteness" in them. The negative effects of the boards may have come from what appeared to be a total incongruity between the life and experiences of the children and that which was depicted for them to see and read. The presence of blacks on the boards noted above was only in two categories; a black martyr shot by a white man or else a black man in a working class occupation. The emphasis upon internalization of strong work and study habits was presented as the means to future success in the form of cars, televisions, money, suburban homes and recreational equipment. However, all of these rewards for self-discipline in academic matters were shown in the possession of whites.[2]

A second method by which the principal attempted to increase motivation was through the implementation of a "Careers Program" for the students in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades. He stated to me that the ostensible purpose of the program was to bring to the school each Friday afternoon someone to speak to the students on careers that would be open to them if they would stay in school. Mr. Elder noted that the students often had no idea of the benefits that could come to one if he would finish his schooling and graduate. He also noted that he believed most of the persons that the students "looked up to were on the street." He indicated that the contact of the students with those who were "not on the street" may help to change their conception of what one should desire to do in life. The program was initiated in late November and the principal arranged for only two Friday sessions before the Christmas vacation. On the Friday before the Thanksgiving recess, the guest speaker was a black woman who was a concert pianist. Two weeks later during the early part of December, the guests were members of the marching band from a nearby air force station.

Motivation and Achievement--With the Parents

Both the teachers and the two principals at Attucks School repeatedly verbalized that they believed the nexus of the difficulty in teaching children in the school lay with the families. It was on the family setting, both prior to and concurrent with the school experience that poverty, parental apathy, lack of interest in school, lack of concern with the children and inability to perceive the benefits of education were claimed to contribute to the unmotivated and uninterested student in the classroom. It was within this context that Mr. Elder spoke of hoping that the motivational program at the school would have the effect of "rubbing off" on the parents. The assumption appeared to have been made that if the school could in some manner increase the interest and motivation of the parents in the home, the child would succeed in the classroom.

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[2] From a different perspective, it may be argued that the bulletin boards were, in effect, excellent mechanisms of reality training.

In the 1969 Board of Education report, Saint Louis Scorecare, there is a section devoted to the relations of the community and home to the school. Under the heading of "once upon a time . . ." there are various descriptions of the relation of parents and community to the school. Two of those descriptive passages are:

1) The parent organization had a large membership of fathers

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for the children. That is, the situation depicted on the boards was actually quite similar to that of the larger society with whites in possession of most material benefits accruing from education and the blacks occupying predominantly working-class occupations. Such, it may be claimed well prepared the black children for what they will face in later years. I would reject this argument for at least two reasons. The first is that it would tend to enhance the assumption of the present social organization as unalterable and secondly, the impact for the development of a negative self-image among black children may be tremendous.

and mothers, good attendance--and they took their responsibilities seriously.

2) The annual picnic was a major social event. The parents usually planned the parade route, chartered the buses, hired the band, gave out the free tickets--and managed to clear a few hundred dollars for the school fund.

On the next page is the heading, "But now . . ." Again, among the various descriptions of the present relations of the community to the school are the following statements:

1) Fewer than five percent of the potential parent organization members attend meetings, and, on the average, fewer than half of the listed members attend. Sixty parent organizatoons have an average attendance of only twenty or fewer people, and only eight average an attendance of 100 or more. And of a potential organization membership of more than 150,000 fathers and mothers, the St. Louis parent organizations have a membership of about 16,000 or eleven percent.

With Attucks School less than ten years old, it is not possible to talk of the "once upon a time" relationship of the school to the community. It is possible, to examine the "But now" period in community school relations. Within the St. Louis school system, and Attucks School in particular, the major means of facilitating communication between the home and the school is through the Parent-Teachers Association. From the observations made at Parent-Teacher meetings in both the 1967-1968 and the 1969-1970 school year, there was witnessed on a number of occasions discussions of why parents were "failing in their duty" to their children by not encouraging achievement in the school. As with the children in the school, the parents were also subjected to doses of motivation with the apparent anticipated consequence of increased achievement by students in the school. The following are edited excerpts from four Parent-Teacher Association meetings observed during the 1968-1969 school year.

11/15/67

As soon as the entertainment ended, the principal came into the stage and indicated that he wished to make a few remarks. As soon as he appeared, there was a mass migration out of the gym. Possibly 200 people simply got up and walked out. The principal then spent nearly fifteen minutes discussing the Preparedness and Readiness Test which each student must pass in order to graduate from high school. The principal constantly put the emphasis upon the fact that no matter if the student failed the test in the eighth grade,he could repeat again in the ninth and so on. He told the parents that it was their duty to get their children in off the streets and help them to study. He noted that many high school seniors could not pass the exam and appeared to lay the blame for their failure with the parents. He noted that schools did all they could, and if the child then failed, it was the fault of the parents. At eight-thirty-three the principal noted that it was not yet time to dismiss the meeting since the program stated that the meeting was to adjourn at 8:35. For the next two minutes he simply stood in the front of the group and looked at his watch. Two minutes later he dismissed the group to go to the individual classrooms of their children.

12/13/67

The president introduced the director of the school choir ho walked to the piano at the front of the group and began to play "Oh, Come All Ye Faithful." Children began to march towards the front from either side of the gym singing the same hymn. After all the children reached the stage, one youth began to read a story entitled "The Kingdom Within." He used a number of religiously oriented words such as "sanctification, incarnation, salvation and redemption." Another phrase was the "aristocracy of the earth." He was barely audible. After he finished, all the children left the stage. The president then stood and addressed the group as "Mothers." She told the parents the same story as did the principal the previous meeting about the Preparedness and Readiness Test and how the parents are at fault if the child fails the test. After this short speech, the president introduced the kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Caplow, who told the audience of the play to be performed by the kindergarten children, based on the novel by Charles Dickens entitled "The Christmas Carol." The audience enjoyed the presentation and clapped quite loudly at its end. The group then took a collection row by row for the Christmas Fund which was established to help indigent families in the city. The principal the conducted a raffle in which each parent who had come had been given a half a ticket. The remainder had been put in a large shoe box from which fifteen numbers would be chosen for gifts at the end of the meeting. Many persons had become quite restless and walked out even before the calling of the winning numbers. The passing out of the gifts took a good deal of time as each number had to be verified and several persons with the wrong number came to the front. As the very last gift, salt and pepper shakers, were passed out, everyone rose and left, even before the principal could indicate that the meeting was dismissed.

2/28/68

After the meeting had been called to order, the kindergarten teacher played the Star Spangled Banner and the group sang along. The president then spoke a few words concerning Brotherhood Week and how people should have tolerance and respect for one another. It was rather ironic how one member of a minority group was telling other members of the same group that they should not discriminate, be prejudiced or do harm to their fellow man. After this short speech, one of three men present at the meeting got up and left. The president then stated that Attucks School reached its March of Dimes quota of $105.00; that the parents would be able in the coming months to have pictures of their children taken at school for $2.00; that everyone should vote in the forthcoming school bond election; and that a butcher would be at the meeting to explain the various cuts of meat and give away at the end of the meeting all the meat that he brought. The president said, "Won't all of you ladies want to come and try to win yourself a hunk of meat to stretch your budget?" After these remarks, the president introduced a white policeman to the group. The policeman said that this was not his regular job and he did not know what to say but that he would try. He spoke as if he were illiterate and his use of the English language was very bad. As he showed slides to the group, he would refer to "this here slide here" or "this here picture ain't good and we don't want no more problems like we see in this here picture." The slides were of a juvenile treatment center in Texas housing one hundred white juvenile males from which inmates go out and speak to community groups. Scenes were shown of four inmates speaking to an all-white high school group, the girls crying and boys crouching low in their chairs. There was not a single black in the entire presentation. At the end of the slides, the officer began in a very belligerent fashion to speak to the parents and teachers present at the meeting. He stated that it was the fault of the parents that children fail in school and then go out on the street to become dope fiends and end up shooting someone, or else to start drinking wine and end up in the same manner. He told the parents not to "cuss and booze it up in taverns and bars while the children run wild." He also told the men present that they should stay home and quit "running around to bars and boozin' it up with other women." After twenty minutes of this he finished with the words, "Now if you here mothers and fathers will shape up, we won't have no more problems like we got in this here picture." The principal dismissed the group and indicated that refreshments were available in the teachers' lounge. Approximately ten people went to the lounge while the rest immediately left the building. I also went to the lounge while the rest immediately left the building. I also went to the lounge and found the door locked. There were no refreshments and the remaining parents and myself wandered out of the building.

3/13/68

The principal stood and began to speak of the difficulty he was having in getting the best students in the seventh and eighth grades to participate in the city-wide essay contest on the theme, "What the greater St. Louis area means to me." He stated that it is the task of the parents to get the children motivated to participate in such programs. At this point the only male who had come to the meeting, other than the principal and myself, got up and left. The principal made no mention of the fact that the butcher and his free meat promised to the mothers did not appear. He instead began in very strong terms to speak to the parents about the lack of control in the school and the difficulty that teachers were having in controlling the children. He stated that some substitute teachers had left in the middle of the day because the children would not obey. He then commented that the children do not come to school on time. He stated, "Our children have no regard for time." He said that one boy in the fourth grade is late every day and he has "both a mother and a father." He stated that good school habits would carry over to high school and then to a job. He made no mention of further education. At 8:35 he mentioned that there appeared to be no speaker for the evening and asked whether the parents and teachers would like to form a "buzz group" to discuss questions they might have. There was no response--absolute silence. The principal then said, "Well,

> I have a question for you. Why is it that children are different now than when I began teaching more than twenty-five years ago?" Mothers at the meeting responded with such comments as "Nowadays, kids think they know it all." "Children don't get enough discipline now." "Thing's happenin' in the world." One teacher commented, "Teachers can't even raise their voice at the children or else a mother will come hollerin' at them." A mother asked why it was necessary for a teacher to get the permission of the principal to "whip" a child. The principal stated that this was necessary to protect the teacher when a parent starts to "put up a fuss." He then related that on one occasion after he had whipped a boy, the mother and sister came back with knives to see him. He stated that he talked himself out of the situation, but also noted that in that instance the home "did not give any support to the school."

The parallel between the motivational programs and the conduct of the Parent-Teacher meetings by both principals was quite striking. Both appeared to have agreed that the source of their school problems lay outside the school itself and that the best the school could do was to attempt to change attitudes. As appeared to be the case with the motivational programs, the meetings of the Parent-Teacher group never came to grips with the question of the significance of the school in the life of the children. The experience of education as defined in Attucks School was viewed as inherently desirable, and it was personal idiosyncratic behavior that detered the student and the parent from fuller participation.

At the first meeting of the Parent-Teacher Association meeting during the 1969-1970 school year on October 15, 1969, the attendance was not nearly as large as the initial meetings two years earlier. There were only seventy to seventy-five persons present when the meeting was called to order at 7:40 p.m. The opening exercise of the Star Spangled Banner and a "Thought For the Day" were conducted, followed by a brief business meeting with no report from either the secretary or treasurer. The following meeting notes indicate the pattern of behavior reminiscent of Mr. Miller:

> The principal immediately began to introduce the teaching staff at the school. Those teachers which were at the school in previous years he referred to as "old heads." He then commented that they are not really old, but that they have been at Attucks School for a number of years. He then stated that he wants the children at Attucks School to be proud of the building even though he personally doesn't like it. He stated that he would design it differently if he had the chance, but since "everyone is stuck with it, they might as well do the best they can." He stated that one should take pride in the building because "it is going to be part of the community from now to eternity." He then discussed with the parents the motivational programs he has initiated at the school. Mention was made of the careers program, the government savings stamp program and the intramural sports program. Finally, he noted that he is emphasizing that the students should purchase season tickets to the city symphony student series held three times during the school year. He noted that the symphony would give the children an appreciation of music and aesthetic values. Finally, he added that the participation of parents in the school is highly desired and to that end, he encourages the parents to purchase their yearly membership on the school Parent-Teacher Association for "only one dollar." He stated that even if the parent did not have the one dollar, they should come and participate anyway.

The theoretical purpose of the Parent-Teacher Association is to provide a forum whereby the teachers and parents can together discuss the issues and concerns of the education of the children involved. Thus one would assume that if the program were to succeed, there would have to be a degree of cooperation and trust between the parents and the teachers. The evidence of the six observations indicates that the teachers (and the principals) were unwilling to have the parents involved beyond that of mere periphery group. There was no instance in which the principals or the teachers openly welcomed the parents to visit the school during the day to observe or discuss the educational activities of the children.

One evening, when the parents were in the room of the second grade teacher, several parents asked whether they would be allowed to attend the Thanksgiving program at the school during the following week. Mrs. Benson indicated that the children are indeed putting on the program but that it is "primarily for the children in the rest of the school." She did state though, that they could come if they wished, but her tone of voice indicated hesitation. Though some teachers, I am sure, did enjoy the opportunity to visit and discuss the educational progress with the parents of their students, others were less interested.

> I happened to be walking next to the fourth grade teacher when we entered the corridor and jokingly said to her, "And what grade did you come to visit tonight?" She commented, "Do you want to make me say a bad word?" She appeared extremely irritated that she had to come. She was extremely unpleasant and appeared bored by the entire proceedings. When she came to her room, the door was locked and a number of parents were standing in the hall waiting for her to unlock the door. All the remaining teachers on the first floor had their doors open and the lights in the room turned on. (11/19/69)

The principal on this same evening had decided at the last minute without informing either the staff or the parents that the program would begin a half hour earlier. Thus when the parents (and myself)began to arrive at approximately seven-thirty, the program for those very few that had come early was nearly over. When I asked the second grade teacher about the time change, she replied, 'Well, the principal decided to move it up to seven o'clock because he knew everyone would not show up until seven-thirty anyway." Such an autonomous decision by the principal would appear to cast serious question on the degree of respect he did hold for the parents.

Having sought to narrow the scope of analysis from the macro system of public education in St. Louis to an individual school, the focus will become even more specific in the following chapters with individual classrooms being examined in detail. As one moves towards the study of sub-groups within the larger system, it is hoped that the mechanisms by which the larger system affects the activities of the smaller unit will become apparent. Thus one does not study the individual class as an isolated unit, but as an integral part of a larger social organization that has a series of hierarchies, a system of values, a method of socialization of the members, and both formal and informal norms by which rules governing the operation of organization are enforced. Though classes appear to be isolated, self-contained units, they are significantly affected by the larger milieu of the school, on one level, and the entire system on yet a higher level.

CHAPTER V

KINDERGARTEN: BEGINNING OF THE JOURNEY

1. INTRODUCTION

Most children in the United States spend a large number of the early years of their life within various institutions of public education. In Missouri, the first experience of the long journey through the public school system for the majority of the children begins with kindergarten. As is the case with kindergarten classes throughout the state, children in St. Louis attend for only a half-day period. In the St. Louis system, children who attend the morning session during the first semester switch and attend the afternoon session during the second semester. If there are less than eighteen children in any one session, that class is grouped together with the other section and the teacher will teach at the school for only a half-day. She then will teach at a second school for the remainder of the day. Though in the past enrollments in some kindergarten classes in the city have been above eighty children, those at Attaucks School have for the past three years averaged between twenty-five and thirty-five students in each section.

The St. Louis school system provides three days before the beginning of the school year in which parents may come to the school and register their child for kindergarten. Besides receiving several forms that must be completed to register the child, the parent is also given a green brochure outlining the kindergarten experience. It describes the activities of the kindergarten year in terms of preparing the child for reading, arithmetic, and "school adjustment." The brochure also provides for the parent a series of suggestions on how they can help prepare their child for kindergarten. On each of the pages listing an activity that the parent can do with his child, there is a picture of a similar activity taking place in a classroom. Each of the parent-related activities is labeled with a large "DO" in red ink. Several are listed as follows:

> Do give your child a chance to play with children his own age.
> Do show interest in the work your child brings home from school.
> Do take your child to interesting places like the zoo and the riverfront.
> Do activities with your child to help him learn of his world.
> 1) Put water outside to freeze, bring it inside to melt.
> 2) Mark important days on the calendar for your child.
> 3) Look at picture books with your child.
> 4) Read to your child as much as possible.

Pictures in the brochure which portrayed these activities in the classroom show a white teacher, twenty-five white children and four black children. The classroom picture is large with a number of posters and pictures on the walls. The outside of the school is shown with trees and grass.

Additional material elicited from the mothers for the office registration forms included information on any pre-school experience of the child and medical information related to immunizations, family doctor, and presence of allergies or physical impairments. The final questions asked were taken from a sheet of twenty-eight items entitled "Behavioral Questionnaire." At the top of the page written in capital letters were the following directions, "ARE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT YOUR

CHILD IN ANY OF THE FOLLOWING AREAS. CIRCLE YES OR NO." The twenty-eight items which the mother was to indicate her presence or absence of concern included for example: bed-wetting, wetting during the day; thumb-sucking, being too restless, shy, gloomy or sulky, disobedient, selfish, how to handle punishment, lying, and bowels. If the child was not registered prior to the beginning of the school year, he could be registered during the first day of school. It is a general policy of the city that school begin on the Thursday after Labor Day.

II. THE FIRST DAYS

For the first day of the school year, Mrs. Caplow was assigned an assistant, Mrs. Samuels. Prior to the entrance of the children, both teachers busied themselves making name tags for those children who had pre-registered. The tags were in the shape of elephants cut from construction paper and each had a piece of string to hang the tag around the neck of the child. Additional preparation of the teachers for the children included putting posters and pictures on the boards and several walls, laying puzzles on the tables and having a display of flowers on a large circular table in the center of the room. Mrs. Caplow had also made several cloth dolls of various colors and stuffed them with foam rubber. The dresses on the dolls were either brown, green or yellow. The material for the face, arms and legs was white. Several pictures and posters were tacked up around the room:

> On one of the walls was a large drawing of "the three little pigs." This the teacher had drawn herself. On one of the bulletin boards were five labeled pictures. The first was entitled "Summer Fun" and was a picture of two white male swimmers in skin-tight trunks on a high diving board. The second picture was entitled

> "Summer Play" and showed six white children playing on a jungle gym. The third "Autumn" showed a squirrel. "We Sing" was the label for the fourth, a picture of thirteen white children and a white teacher gathered around a piano. The fifth and last picture on the bulletin board was labeled "We Work" and showed six white children engaged in handicraft activities on a picnic table. (9/7/67)

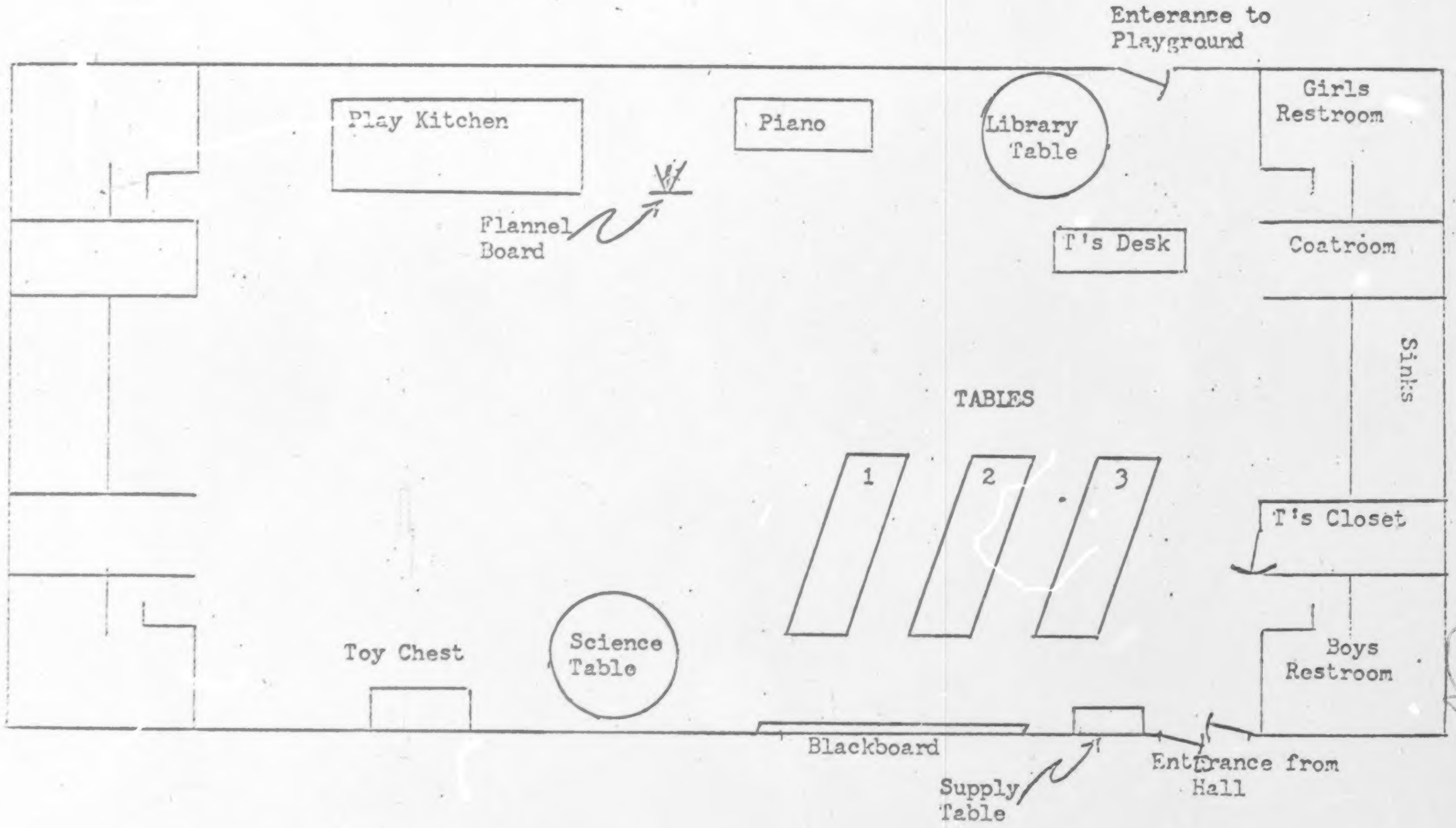
See Figure 5.1 for a floorplan of the kindergarten classroom.

The first child, Laura, and her mother entered the room at 8:20.

> Laura's mother greeted Mrs. Samuels, "Good morning." Mrs. Samuels responded, "Good morning, how are you?" Mrs. Caplow also replied, "Good morning. Haven't seen you since we worked together on the headstart project." Again Mrs. Samuels: "So glad to see you, girl." Mother: "Have you met Laura?" Mrs. Samuels: "No, I haven't. Hello Laura." Laura makes no response and stands quietly looking around the room. The mother and Mrs. Samuel then go to one corner of the room and begin talking. Laura is left standing in the middle of the room by herself. (9/7/67)

This phenomena of the parent leaving the child alone and either speaking with the teacher or walking around the room occurred several other times during the morning registration. Many of the children, however, were not brought by a parent, but rather by an older brother or sister. When this was the case, the child was immediately left alone in the class, as the older students also had to go to class. The two teachers would attempt to engage the children as they came into the room with either one of the puzzles or a new doll. Mrs. Caplow spent most of the morning period until the time of recess registering children who were brought to the class. Mrs. Samuels was to be with the children, but spent more than an hour talking with Laura's mother in one corner of the room. The distraction power of Laura's mother was evident throughout the morning. Whenever Mrs. Samuels was engaged with one of the children, Mrs. Franklin, Laura's mother, would call out to Mrs. Samuels and soon the two would again be talking by themselves.

~~Chart~~ Figure 5:1. Floorplan of the Kindergarten Classroom



When a child was brought by an older brother or sister to the class, the registration procedure was not nearly as formal as when the child was brought by a parent.

> A boy, approximately twelve years old, brings in his younger sister to the kindergarten. Mrs. Samuels asks the youth, "This child is not registered. Why didn't your mother register her?" The twelve-year-old responds that he doesn't know anything about registration and that his mother told him to bring his sister. Mrs. Caplow and Mrs. Samuels begin to discuss the situation and the decision is to register the child, on the basis of information supplied by the older brother. Mrs. Caplow than asks the boy several questions about his younger sister. When finished with the questions, he leaves the room without a word to his younger sister who stands by herself looking at the other children. (9/7/67)

Of the nine children in the room at 8:50, none had cried when the person left who had brought them to the room. Four of the children, all girls, were working on peg boards, while two girls and a boy, were merely standing or sitting by themselves uninvolved in any activity. The first child who openly expressed his fear arrived at 8:55.

> A mother and boy come into the room and go to the teacher's desk. Mrs. Samuels walks over to the desk and says to Mrs. Caplow, "This boy I know from church." The boy begins to run for the outside door. Mrs. Samuels says in a rather firm voice to the child, "Stop. Don't go outside; come in here and sit down." The child on his way back to the teacher's desk picks up one of the dolls made by Mrs. Caplow and says to Mrs. Samuels, "What color this?" Mrs. Samuels responds, "What?" The boy says, "Green." Mrs. Samuels says, "Yes, you are right."

Two mothers who came together at 9:05 to register their children ignored one who cried, "Mama, mama" repeatedly after he entered the room. The children were left alone as the adults interacted among themselves. The result at times appeared to be a sense of randomness of activity on the part of the children. Mrs. Samuels at one point gave her tacit approval to the unexplained presence of a much older boy in the room who began passing out the toys.

> One mother who has brought a child to register for the class also brought along several older children. One of the older children immediately goes to the toy chest and begins to bring a number of toys to the table for the younger children to play with. One boy immediately begins to hoard all the toys as they are placed on the table. Mrs. Samuels comes to the table from the group of adults and asks the boy, "What if someone else wants to play with the toys?" The boy responds, "I want all." He has at this point accumulated nineteen toys while the rest of the children at the table have none. The mother who had brought along the older boy has left but he remains in the kindergarten room.

At 9:30 after there were no longer any parents in the room registering children, Mrs. Samuels made her first motion towards the establishment of control over the class.

> Mrs. Samuels says to the children, "All right, boys and girls, let's put our toys away very, very neatly. Let's walk, not run. Put your toys away very neatly. Who would like to help put the toys away? Put them in this box very neatly." The boy who had been hoarding the toys says, "No, they mine." The teacher takes the toys out of his hands and carries them to the box. Lilly continues to sit alone, with no one having spoken to her for more than an hour. She has a peg board, but she does not go to put it away at the teacher's general request to the class. Mrs. Samuels continues, "This table looks so very neat, but what about the other side?" (Where Lilly sits) She turns to Lilly and says, "Oh, we should all put our toys away very quietly." Mrs. Samuels then takes the board from Lilly and puts it on a supply table nearby. After doing this, she comments, "Now, doesn't this all look so nice. All the chairs are under the table. Isn't it pretty, boys and girls? Now lets all of us go out to the center of the room and make a circle. Who knows what a circle is? We all hold hands. We are going to play'Simon Says'." (R.R. note: she did not give time for any child to make a response to her question.)

After the game of "Simon Says" was played for five to seven minutes, Mrs. Samuels had the children arrange themselves in a single line to march back to their seats. As they walked back, she counted out, "one, two, three, four," until they were seated. When they were seated, Mrs. Samuels indicated that they were going to talk about themselves. During the ensuing discussion, the children made inappropriate responses to the questions of the teacher, but she ignored for the most part such responses. This phenomena of the "bizarre response" was one that was to re-occur throughout the school year.

> Mrs. Samuels continues, "Now if you do not raise your hand, you are to nod your head. Now how do you raise your hand?" One child responds, "Touch ma toe." Mrs. Samuels ignores the response and says, "If you do not raise your hand when I ask you, nod your head. If you dressed yourself today, raise your hand. If you did not, nod your head." No child either raised his hand or nodded his head, but one child said, "I have a pocketbook," and another said, "I had Cheerios for breakfast." Mrs. Samuels responds, "No. Do what I ask you to do. Now listen to me."

When the children came into the room on Friday, Mrs. Caplow began immediately to inform them as to what her expectations for them were to be. At the door, she told them to have a seat and wait quietly for her. When all the children were in the room, she went to the piano and asked the children to form a semi-circle around her. There was none of the initial randomness of the children's behavior that had been present the previous day. Instead, the children were structured in their activities from the moment they entered the door. At the piano the teacher introduced herself and explained that she would call the roll each morning.

During the early minutes of the Friday class, verbal interaction between the teacher and the students displayed several interactional patterns that were to reappear repeatedly through the school year. The first was the teacher's inconsistent response to spontaneous remarks of the student: Frank says: "I goin' to have a birthday." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Good, Frank, when?" Frank: "Next July." But on other occasions such a spontaneous remark was ignored.

> Mrs. Caplow is about to pass out name tags. Frank says, "I saw a elephant at Sherman's Farm. I also saw a horsey." Mrs. Caplow ignores this comment and begins to call the roll.
>
> Mrs. Caplow asks the class, "Do any of you have a pet at home?" Joe replies, "I have a big dog. He a big dog and he bite you if you hit him in the mouth." Mrs. Caplow responds, "But you can play with him, can't you?" Joe says, "yea." Other children at this point begin to talk of their pets, but the teacher ignores their comments and tells them that they are not to touch the pets in the classroom.

The verbal spontaneity of the children appeared to be most readily accepted by the teacher if it was made when there was no structured activity occurring in the room.

A second pattern of interaction between the teacher and students involved her response to a question or comment in a manner that could not be understood by the students.

> One of the boys says to Mrs. Caplow, "I see you got a play turtle in the jar." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Yes, that turtle is there to help keep the turtle shell hard. That is a naturalizer to keep the water just right for the turtle." The boy makes no response.

Such a response involved an element of mystification for the student due to the explanation in unfamiliar terms. The key word in Mrs. Caplow's response was that of "naturalizer," but it is extremely unlikely that the term would have any meaning to the child. The learning situation appeared to break down for the child due to an inability to comprehend the terms.[1]

A third pattern of interaction evident between the teacher and the students was the teacher's explicit acceptance, if not rewarding, of an incorrect response by a student.

> The teacher states that the children will each have a chance to count all the rest of the children in the class. She calls on Brad first. He counts, "one, two, three, four, five, six, thirteen, twenty-seven, ninety-five." Mrs. Caplow responds, "All right, Brad. Now it is your turn, Mary."

Such acceptance of an incorrect response of a child may contribute to later confusion when the child is told that an earlier accepted response is no longer valid. Likewise, one might question the intention of the teacher in having the children count if she was not going to help them with incorrect responses. There may have been an intention on the part of the teacher to merely observe the knowledge of the child related to numbers.

A corollary to accepting the incorrect response is for the teacher herself to give incorrect information to the students.

> The teacher holds up a picture of a white middle-class school room where all the children and the teacher are both white and blond and says, "This class looks just like ours."

The teacher's intention, apparently, was to point out that the class in the picture also had a dish with a turtle in it. However, she did not discriminate clearly what it was in the picture that could lead to the conclusion the two classes were similar. Clear reference to the turtles, both in the room and in the picture would appear to have constituted a

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[1] A similar situation occurred later in the morning when the teacher spoke repeatedly about a hamster that was in the room the previous year. She, however, never explained what a hamster was or what it looked like.

more precise and accurate statement of similarity. As the statement was given, the children in the classroom may very well have concluded that they were being told white children looked identical to themselves.

The three patterns of interaction noted above between the teacher and the students were not the only forms of verbalization that occurred within the class. There were also instances of what appeared to be clear explanations within the cognitive understanding of the children.

> Now children, we are going to call the roll. Do you know what the roll is? It is a list of all your names. It is a list that I have to keep you all straight.

However, from the first formal day of schooling, the children were periodically involved in patterns of interaction that appear quite detrimental to the process of cognitive growth. Cognitive growth in this context is highly similar to that discussed by Piaget when he speaks of the development of "cognitive capacity," involving both the sequence of concept formation and, more crucially, the mental operations involved in knowledge acquisition (Piaget, 1963). If the child is rewarded for the verbalizing of incorrect knowledge or is given facts that cannot be incorporated into the mental operations that he has developed, learning is impaired.

During the Friday morning class period, there were two forms of behavior displayed by the students that had also been present the previous day. The first was that of hoarding materials placed in the class for the use of all the children, while the second was the attempt of one child, in particular, to withdraw from the classroom interaction.

> Mrs. Caplow comes to Joe and says, "Joe, you will have to share the animals. Don't you know what it means to

> share? You have to let other people use these things that you use." Joe makes no response. The teacher does not take the animals from Joe but walks away.

There were only two clear instances of hoarding during the first two mornings at school, and each was done by a different boy.

One of the girls, Susan, began to display a variety of withdrawal mechanisms from the moment that the teacher asked the children to join her at the piano. At first it consisted of merely going to her seat or going for a drink of water. Later, she not only left the group, but went to the far side of the room and stood by herself. Finally the child left the room to stand behind the outside door leading to the playground. The teacher grew increasingly impatient each time Susan left the group and finally resorted to physical force to discipline her.

> Susan has gone outside again and has hid behind the door. Mrs. Caplow sees her leave and goes after her. "Susan, come here right now." This she says in a rather authoritarian and irritated manner. Susan comes back and Mrs. Caplow grabs her by the arm, brings her back to the group and pushes her down to the floor. Susan begins to cry.

The behavior was not extinguished and the child continued to leave the group at various intervals. The teacher then began to ignore the child and occasionally asked if she would like to come back to the group. The child shook her head "no" and the teacher allowed her to remain by herself at the far end of the room.

During the first two days of school, the teacher did not attempt to categorize or separate the children into groups other than on the basis of sex. From the first day, girls were always to go first, whether it be to the rest room or to recess. There were two large tables at which the children sat when they were engaged in activities requiring a desk and chair. No attempt was made to establish a binding seating arrangement for the children. By the time the children came back into the room from Friday morning recess, they had among themselves, however, established some semblance of a seating arrangement. Each of the children took the same seat that they had had when they first entered the room in the morning.

111. THE FIRST FULL WEEK OF SCHOOL

On the fourth day of school (the following Tuesday), I returned to the kindergarten class. During my one hour and forty-five minute visit to the room, the teacher did not appear. No substitute or replacement was assigned to the room and the children were left entirely on their own. Though the room was somewhat noisy, all the children were either engaged in an activity of their own or else watching another child.

> One boy was looking at the bird in the bird cage. Two other boys were at the toy chest. Two girls were at the play stove and the rest of the children were seated at the tables. Several of the children at the tables were either working with the peg boards or else stringing beads on a long cord. A spontaneous differentiation of the group by sex began to emerge as the boys all gravitated to the toy chest while all the girls went to the tables and worked with either the pegs or beads. One girl entered the room eating a bag of potato chips. A boy picked up an airplane and began to sing the national anthem. One girl put her head on her desk and was about to fall asleep.

At 8:40 a mother came into the room to register her daughter. Her expression was one of surprise as she looked into the room. The activity of the boys at this point had escalated and they were running through the room with trucks, hitting the girls on the back of the head. The

The girls remained very passive and did not attempt to either defend themselves or strike back at the boys. Two of the boys began fighting among themselves on the floor with a third boy on top of both of them. The mother and her daughter went and sat by the piano. At this point the first grade teacher walked into the room and asked if Mrs. Caplow was in the room. The children and I both indicated that she was not.

> Upon hearing that Mrs. Caplow is absent, the teacher shrugs her shoulders, picks one of the boys and begins to leave. On her way out, she asks the children if they have something to do. She tells them in a commanding manner to "Get quiet." She continues, "All the girls are so quiet and beautiful. The boys get quiet and busy also. Everybody stay nice and quiet as you wait for Mrs. Caplow." She then leaves with the boy.

Upon the teacher's direction that everyone was to "stay nice and quiet," all the children either went to the toy chest or to the play area. Two girls, however, sat immoblie at their desks, not moving for more than an hour. They simply sat and watched the other children. There was no observed verbal interaction between them, though they sat next to each other.

For the next twenty minutes the children were engaged in a number of activities throughout the room. The boys were no longer hitting the girls or each other. Several of the girls got water from the sink and placed it in pots on top of the play stove. They began an elaborate scene of playing house and cooking for a meal, setting out some dishes for the meal. The boys began to take the dishes from the girls and one of the girls began to struggle to keep them. At this point the same first grade teacher re-entered the room.

> She asks, in a rather harsh manner, "Is everybody busy?" The girl who was struggling with the boys tells the teacher, "Da boys keep snatchin' my things." In a rather sarcastic fashion the teacher says to the boys, "Don't we know that boys play with boys' things and that girls play with girls' things?" She then turns to Joe and says in a loud, harsh voice, "Hey little fellow, get quiet. Find something to do. Not so loud, little boy." She then turns to the girls at the table and asks, "Do all you ladies have something to do?" When I question the teacher as to the whereabouts of Mrs. Caplow, she says, "Guess she might be at a meeting."

When the teacher left the room, the children resorted to the same level of noise and activity that they had had previous to her re-entering the room. Very soon, however, the children began to quiet down of their own accord and several of the children began to take on activities related to classroom management. One of the girls, Laura, told the children that they should not play with the piano and that they had to clean the room before the teacher returned. The noise level in the room had decreased considerably and the children were quite actively engaged in a number of activities either in small groups or individually. They asked neither the first grade teacher nor myself the whereabouts of Mrs. Caplow but seemed quite involved in their personal activities.

During the entire period the mother and daughter had sat on the piano bench. At 9:50 she stood and said to me, "I got to go. If she ain't gonna come, I got things to do. Can't sit here all day." She gave her registration material to me and left the room. Very shortly another mother entered the room and gave her registration material to me. I indicated that I was not the teacher and that I was in no position to register her child. She stated that the principal had told her that she could give the materials to me. With that she handed me the materials and left the room. As soon as she left, her son came sobbing to me. I had to hold the boy for more than five minutes to quiet him. Finally I asked if he would like to work on a peg board and he indicated that he would. I found a peg board and he immediately became involved in the activity.

It was evident that the children became quite engrossed and interested in what they were doing. They also appeared to be quite relaxed as they involved themselves. A major factor that appeared to contribute to their periodic quietness was whether they were involved in activities that were cognizable, again in the sense that the term is applied by Piaget.

> I noted that five of the girls had gotten paper from somewhere and have taken this to the painting easel. They all began to paint. The boy that was crying is actively engaged in the pegs, and since I showed him the technique, three other boys have gotten pegs and a peg board and joined him at one of the tables. A fifth boy sits and watches while the sixth boy in the room is playing with trucks by the toy chest. A jar of red paint falls from one of the easels and I ask the girls if they will help me clean up the paint. They indicate that they will and go to the restroom for paper towels.

When it was time for the recess, the first grade teacher came into the room and had the children form a line. I left the room at this point and went to the principal's office to speak with Mr. Miller. He indicated, when I told him that the kindergarten room had no teacher, that he was aware of the situation and that he was certain another teacher would voluntarily take the class. Though I am uncertain as to the reluctance to directly ask a teacher to supervise the room, his waiting for a volunteer had not succeeded.

On the following morning (Wednesday) the teacher was present in the room when I arrived. The children were involved in the opening exercises which consisted of first singing "My Country 'Tis of Thee," then repeating the Pledge of Allegiance and finally saying a prayer. Since the children had been involved in this exercise only once before, the teacher repeated each line of the three parts of the opening exercise and then had the children repeat the line after her. The prayer which she had the children pray was as follows: "Now before we work today, Let us bow our heads to pray, to God who kept us through the night, And woke us to the morning light. Help us Lord to love Thee more than we ever loved before. In our work and in our play, Be Thou with us every day." Following the prayer, the children were to respond, "Here I am," when the teacher called the roll.

Mrs. Caplow had returned to the classroom in the previous day after I had left. She began to talk to the children about the trip they took the morning before to meet the various "school helpers" in Attucks School.

> Mrs. Caplow asks, "Now, boys and girls, who remembers what we did yesterday on our tour of the school?" She then proceeds to call on several of the children as they raise their hands. One child says, "We saw principal." Another says, "We saw room wit' lot book." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Yes, boys and girls, we saw and met our school helpers." She then takes pictures of a principal, a doctor, a custodian, a nurse, a teacher and a secretary and shows them to the children one at a time and says that these are pictures of their school helpers. All the pictures are of whites and most have blond hair. One child comments that the picture of the principal doesn't look like the principal and the teacher says that it is a picture of the principal.

The discussion of the trip the children had taken through the school the previous morning was a lead into the teacher's plan for the children to take a trip around the outside of the building.

> Mrs. Caplow says, "Now we are going to take a tour of the outside of our school." Joe says, "I saw a big grouchy bear out there this mornin'." Mrs. Caplow does not respond to Joe's comment.

The teacher and the children then proceeded to walk around the outside of the school, the children displaying the most interest in the ashes that were coming from the chimney of the school. Several of the children commented that they had never seen such large mosquitoes as were coming from the chimney. Another child, Frank, commented on the large number of parrots on the playground and Laura corrected him that they were pigeons. When the children returned from the trip, the teacher suggested that the class write on the blackboard a story of their tour. This suggestion appeared to produce a certain degree of anxiety in the children.

> Mrs. Caplow says, "Let's write a story about our school tour." One child says, "I write no story." Another, "I no want to." A third, "I want to paint." Mrs. Caplow responds, "I know you do not want to, but we must learn how to read and write." Joe says, "I want to make horse shoe." Mrs. Caplow says, "Not now Joe." Mrs. Caplow at this time writes on the top of the blackboard, "Our School Tour." She then says, "Okay, boys and girls, what did we do on our school tour?" "Went outside," was the response from one child. Mrs. Caplow: "Did we take a tour?" No response from the children and she continues, "What is a tour?" Laura says, "A trip." Mrs. Caplow: "Okay let's write, 'We took a trip and we met our school helpers.'" (Note can be made that they met no one.) She then says, "That is a short story."

Situations such as the above where the children do not participate with the teacher as she attempts to elicit responses from them began to occur frequently, resulting in a "phantom performance" by the teacher. She would ask questions and the children would make no response. The teacher would however, proceed as if the children had made a response.

From the first days of school, there was evident in the class among some of the children an almost continual use of other than Standard American English. There were inflections in verb tense, use of double negative, dropping of plural "s", and use of pronouns in a variety of ways other than that accepted as the standard format for the utilization of the English language. Mrs. Caplow referred to the lanugage of this type with differences in grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary as "street talk." She had asked the students to draw a picture of their school:

> Laura says, "I ain't got no paper." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Oh, no, Laura, let's not say 'ain't.' Let's say, 'I haven't any paper'."

Such correction of the misuse of standard English speech patterns continued throughout the year. The "street talk" referred to by Mrs. Caplow appeared to be a combination of several dialectal forms, including those present in the rural South among both lower class blacks and whites and also that distinctly attributable to the black alone, often referred to in the recent literature as "Black American English" (Baratz and Shuy, 1969; Engelmann, 1968). Several of the children in the class used the "Black American English" dialect consistently within the class while others did so only very infrequently.

As the children were involved in the drawing of their school, the teacher and I were able to have our first long nnd informal talk since the beginning of the school year.[2]

> Mrs. Caplow discussed the presence of prayers in the school and stated that the principal, Mrs. Miller, gave the teacher no directive. He simply stated that if they wished to pray they could. I asked about the recent Supreme Court ruling banning prayers from the school and she responded, "The Supreme Court said that you cannot force a child to pray." She noted the tea she wanted to hold for the parents the coming week and that later in the same week she would like to take the children on a field trip. I asked where the children would go on the trip and she indicated that they should go to the city park to look at the leaves change colors. She continued, "You notice, right now, I am spending a lot of time trying to orient the children to

> the school. The next part of the program will be a safety program when I discuss red, yellow and green lights and stop signs. I try to have one new idea for the children each day. I asked what the new idea for today would be and she stated that it was the school prayer. She stated that yesterday the idea was the calendar and Monday it had been the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag. She commented that she had to "go slow with the children because they have such short attention spans" and that they are so "physical in all their actions." In a rather random fashion she then discussed future field trips to the city museum and the use of audio-visual materials in the class--especially several programs on television. She then noted how the children will develop through the year as they learn to play together, how their skill in coloring improves and how their printing and speaking ability will also improve. She stated that it makes her feel very good when the first grade teacher comes and tells her how nicely her ex-kindergarten children are progressing. Finally, she commented, "You know, the social development of these children is just as important as what they learn. We must teach them how to play together."

Within this discussion may be found a number of statements that point to the teacher's philosophical orientation to teaching in relation to both herself as teacher and the children as students. An outline of what might be termed her "Teaching Credo" is developed from the discussion.

1) Religion is important to the student and should be taught, even though doing so means disobedience to the law, or at least misinterpreting the law.

2) A teacher should have "ideas" to pass on to her students.
3) Electronic equipment is helpful in the teaching process.

In relation to the children specifically:

4) Children should be aware of nature.

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[2] For the remainder of this study, the term "Black American English" will be used as an encompassing term for the various dialectical forms utilized by the children. To form a similarity in comparative terms, "Standard American English" will be used to designate the dialectical pattern present in textbook writing.

5) They should be oriented to an understanding of safety and the school surroundings.
6) The attention span of a kindergarten child is short.
7) Children in kindergarten are "physical in their actions."
8) Social development is crucial at this age, in fact, is equivalent to the teaching of academic material.
9) Children must be taught "groupness," i.e., "to play together."
10) As the children grow older, groupness will improve, as will their academic performance.

As part of the teacher's orientation of the children to the school, she planned a visit to the library. This was to be the only trip that the children would make to the library for the entire year, and it was made on the eighth day of the school year. Before the children left the kindergarten room, Mrs. Caplow had told them they were going to the library. There was no explanation as to what was a library or what they could do when they came there. She also instructed the children to greet the librarian with a "Good morning, Mrs. Spring, " when they met her. When the children entered the library, they did so greet her and she responded with such phrases as "Good morning, little people," or "Good morning, little children." As the children came into the room, the librarian directed them to a seat, even physically forcing one child.

> Laura is one of the last children into the library. She begins to sit down and the librarian says, "Oh no, I will give you the chair." She pushes Laura into the chair and then pushes the chair forward to the table.

After the children were seated, the librarian asked the children if they knew what room they were in. The confusion of the children was evident.

> Mrs. Spring asks, "Do you know what room this is? Joe says, "Pictures." Mrs. Spring turns to Joe and says in a harsh voice, "Let me ask you. Did you want to say something, Sweets?" Joe says, "I see pictures." Mrs. Spring asks, "What else do you see?" Trish says, "Flowers." Mrs. Spring asks again "Yes, and what else?" Art says, "Record

> player. We got one them at home." Mrs. Spring then continues to tell the children that when they come to the library they will want to get books.

The librarian noted all the things one must not do in visiting the library. Prohibited within the library were the use of wet fingers to turn the page, eating of candy, talking, walking around the room without permission and coming to the library individually. Mrs. Spring then told the children that she was going to show a film. Her final directions before she turned out the lights were, "Now when it is all over, I want you to tell me how much you enjoyed the film."

> When the film ends, she goes and turns on the lights. She then comes to the front of the group and asks, "Did you like that?" The children give a general answer of "yes" but is neither loud nor enthusiastic. "Did you like the way the man tricked the monkey or the way that the monkey tricked the man?" Again no response from the children. (Note: she asks the questions so rapidly that I am not sure the children had time to answer.) Frank rises to go and pick a book from the shelf. Mrs. Spring very firmly snaps her fingers and says, "Little boy, get back in that seat." She notes that the child is chewing gum. She pinches him by the back of the neck and marches him to the wastebasket where she pushes his head over the opening and tells him to drop the gum in the basket. Mrs. Spring comments that she is disappointed that there are children in the library with gum.

Frank was again the target of physical abuse by the librarian as the children were about to leave the library. He was telling one of the girls about the can of earth worms that he had brought to school and how he found them behind his house. The librarian grabbed Frank by the mouth, pinched his cheeks together and told him, "If we do not have the free talk period, you will have to keep your mouth shut." She seemed angry and frustrated with the children as they left to go back to the kindergarten room.

Later in the morning Mrs. Caplow and I were again able to speak informally for a short while as the children began to color a picture of the man with the many colored hats who was the subject of the film in the library. She noted that the attention span of the children will grow as the school year progresses and that though she cannot yet have long lessons with the children, she will be able to do so later in the school year. She also indicated that the children will display more "independence" later in the school year. She said that the classroom was still disorganized and it would take several more weeks for the children to "catch on to the routine" that she would like to have in the class. It may be interpreted that what Mrs. Caplow referred to as independence on the part of the child may well have been the child learning the group organization she desired.

As part of the routine the teacher wished to establish in the room, she assigned the children seats that they were to retain for the remainder of the school year. With the late registrations and children whom she had transferred from the afternoon to the morning session, there was a total of twenty-three children in the class. The children were assigned seats at three tables which she labled Table #1, Table #2, and Table #3. The seating arrangement of the children was not devised according to alphabetical order, age or sex of the children. Rather, as will be discussed below, a number of less "objective" criteria appeared to be the crucial determinants for the teacher as she arranged the children at the three tables.

IV. STUDENT STATUS AND TEACHER EXPECTATION: A BASIS FOR CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION

Increasingly, with the concern over cognitive development of children and the long and close association that children experience with a series of teachers, attention is centering on the role of the teacher in the classroom (Siegal,1969). A long series of studies have been conducted to determine what effects on children a teacher's values, beliefs, attitudes and expectations may have. Asbell (1963), Becker (1952), Clark (1963), Gibson (1965), Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (1964), Katz (1964), Kvaraceus (1965), MacKinnon (1962), Riessman (1962, 1965), Rose (1956), Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), and Wilson (1963), have all noted that the teacher's expectations of a pupil's academic performance may, in fact, have a strong influence on the actual performance of that pupil. These authors have sought to validate a type of educational self-fulfilling prophecy: if the teacher expects high performance she receives it, and vice-versa. A major criticism that can be directed at much of the above cited research is that though they may establish that a teacher has differential expectations and that these expectations influence performance for various pupils, the research has not elucidated the basis upon which such differential expectations are formed.

The work of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) appears to have produced the most significant results to date. They have presented evidence that the teacher's expectations, which were based on fallacious test scores supplied by the researchers, significantly influenced her resultant behavior towards children slated as "late bloomers." The devised scores supplied to the teacher at the beginning of the school year were presented in such a manner as to indicate that "the top twenty percent of the children will show more significant inflection or spurt in their learning within the next year or less than will the remaining eighty percent of the children" (p. 66). At the end of the school year, the children were retested and the results indicated that those children randomly selected by the researchers at the beginning of the year as late bloomers had, in fact, achieved at a higher rate as measueed by I.Q. tests than had the children not designated as late bloomers.

The basic thrust of the Rosenthal and Jacobson research is to argue that teacher expectations as to a child's potential are manifested in her behavior towards the child. As a result of this differential treatment by the teacher, the child's intellectual growth is significantly affected. Though the results of the work are not conclusive, they do provide strong indication of the influence of a teacher's expectations on a child's classroom performance. There appears to be at least one major shortcoming to this research, however. The authors are unable to demonstrate explicitly how the presence of differential expectations by the teacher are manifested either in terms of her behavior or the child's response within the classroom milieu. I.Q. scores serve as a poor substitute for the observation of a dynamic process.

Prior to the beginning of the schcol year, the kindergarten teacher at Attucks School possessed several different kinds of information regarding the children that she would have in her class. The first was the pre-registration form completed by thirteen mothers of children who would be in the class. On this card, the teacher was supplied with the name of the child, his age, the name of the parents, his home address, his phone number, and whether he had had any pre-school experience.

The second source of information for the teacher was supplied two days before the beginning of school by the school social worker who provided a tentative list of all children in the kindergarten class who lived in homes that received public welfare funds.

The third source of information on the child was gained as a result of the initial interview with the mother and child during the registration period, either in the few days prior to the beginning of school or else during the first days of school. In this interview a major concern was the gathering of medical information about the child as well as the ascertaining of any specific parental concern related to the child. This latter information was noted on the "Behavioral Questionnaire" discussed previously.

The fourth source of information available to the teacher concerning the children in her class was both her experience with older siblings as well as that of other teachers in the building related to behavior and academic performance of children from the same family. It should be noted that not one of these four sources of information available to the teacher is directly related to the academic potential of the incoming kindergarten child. Rather, they are various types of social information revealing such facts as the financial status of certain families, medical care of the child, presence or absence of telephone in the home, as well as the structure of the family in which the child lives, i.e., number of siblings, whether there are two parents, one parent, or if the child does not live with either his natural mother or father.

When the teacher made the permanent seating assignments on the eighth day of school, she had not only the above four sources in information concerning the children, but she also had had time to observe them. Thus knowledge of behavior, degree and type of verbalization, dress, mannerisms, physical appearance, and performance on the early tasks assigned during class were available to her as she began to form opinions concerning the capabilities and potential of the various children. That such evaluation of the children by the teacher was beginning, I believe there is little doubt. Within a few days, only a certain group of children were continually being called on to lead the class in the Pledge of Allegiance, read the weather calendar each day, come to the front for "show and tell" periods, take messages to the office, count the number of children present in the class, pass out materials for class projects, be in charge of equipment on the playground during recess, and head the lines of both boys and girls when going to the playground, bathroom, library or on a school tour. This one group of children that continually were physically close to the teacher and had a high degree of verbal interaction with her, she placed at Table 1.

As one progressed from the groups of children at Table 1 to Table 2 and Table 3, there was an increasing dissimilarity on at least four major criteria. The first criterion appeared to be the physical appearance of the child. While the children at Table 1 were all dressed in clean clothes that were relatively new and pressed, most of the children at Table 2 and with only one excpption at Table 3, were all quite poorly dressed. The clothes were old and often quite dirty. The children at Tables 2 and 3 also had a noticeably different quality and quantity of clothes to wear, especially during the winter months. Whereas the children at Table 1 would come on cold days with heavy coats and sweaters, the children at the other two tables often wore very thin spring coats and summer clothes. The single child at Table 3 who came to school quite nicely dressed came from a home in which the mother was receiving welfare funds, but was supplied with clothing for the children by the families of her brother and sister. A second aspect of the physical appearance of the children related to their body odor. While none of the children at Table 1 came to class with an odor of urine on them, there were two children at Table 2 and five children at Table 3 who frequently had such an odor. There was not a clear distinction among the children at the various tables as to the degree of "blackness" of their skin, but there were more children at the third table with very dark skin (five in all) then there were at the first table (three). There was also a noticeable distinction among the various groups of children as to the condition of their hair. While the three boys at Table 1 all had short hair cuts and the four girls at the same table had their hair "processed" and combed, the number of children with either matted or unprocessed hair increased at Table 2 (two boys and three girls) and all the children at Table 3 (four boys and four girls).

A second major criterion which appeared to differentiate the children at the various tables was their social behavior, both among themselves and with the teacher. The several children who began to develop as leaders within the class by giving directions to other members, initiating the division of the class into teams on the playground and seeking to speak for the class to the teacher ("We want to color now"), all were placed by the teacher at Table 1. This same group of children displayed a high degree of verbal interchange among themselves and also often asked questions of the teacher. Very seldom did children at Table 2 or 3 initiate interaction with the teacher. The Table 1 group, in contrast, displayed considerable ease in their interaction with her. Whereas the children at

2 and 3 would often linger on the periphery of groups surrounding the teacher, the children at Table 1 most often crowded close to her.

The use of language within the classroom appeared to be the third major differentiation among the children. While the children placed at the first table were quite verbal, both with other children and with the teacher, the children placed at the remaining two tables spoke much less frequently with each other or with the teacher. The children placed at the first table also displayed a greater use of Standard American English within the classroom. Whereas the children placed at the last two tables often responded to the teacher in Black American English, the children at the first table did so very infrequently. In other words, the children at the first table were much more adept at the use of "school language" than were those at the other tables who relied on "street language." The teacher utilized Standard American English in the classroom and one group of children were able to respond in a like manner. The frequency of a "no response" to a question from the teacher during formal teaching lessons was recorded at a ratio of nearly three to one for the children at the last two tables as opposed to Table 1. When questions were asked, the children who were placed at the first table most often gave a response.

The final apparent criterion by which the children at the first table were quite noticeably different from those at the other tables consisted of a series of social indices which were known to the teacher prior to her seating the children. Though it is not known to what degree she utilized this particular criterion when she assigned seats, it does contribute to developing a clear profile of the children at the various tables. Table 5.2 gives a summary of the distribution of the children at the three

Table 5:2 Distribution of [redacted] socio-economic status factors by seating arrangement at the three tables in the kindergarten classroom.

INCOME	TABLES 1	2	3
1) Number of families on welfare:	0	2	4
2) Number of families with father employed:	6	2	1
3) Number of families with mother employed:	4	4	3
4) Number of families with both parents employed:	4	2	1
5) Total family income below $3,000. per year:	0	3	6
6) Total family income above $12,000. per year:	4	0	0

EDUCATION	1	2	3
1) Number of fathers ever grade school:	6	3	2
2) Number of fathers ever high school:	5	2	1
3) Number of fathers ever college:	1	0	0
4) Number of mothers ever grade school:	7	8	7
5) Number of mothers ever high school:	6	4	4
6) Number of mothers ever college:	4	0	0
7) Number of children with pre-school experience:	1	1	0

FAMILY SIZE	1	2	3
1) Number of families with one child:	3	1	0
2) Number of families with more than six children:	1	4	6
3) Average number of siblings in family:	3-4	5-6	6-7
4) Number of families with both parents present:	6	3	2

Note: There are seven children seated at Table 1, eight at Table 2 and eight at Table 3.

tables on a series of variables related to social and family conditions. Such variables may be considered to give indication of the relative status of the children within the room, based on the income, education and size of the family. (For a discussion of why these three variables of income, education and family size may be considered as significant determinants of social status, cf. Frazier, 1962; Freeman, et. al., 1959; Gebhard, et. al., 1958; Kahl, 1957; Notestein, 1953; Reissman, 1959; Rose, 1956; Simpson and Yinger, 1958.)

Believing, as I do, that the teacher did not randomly assign the children to the various tables, it is then necessary to indicate the basis for the seating arrangement. I would contend the teacher developed, utilizing some combination of the four criteria outlined above, a series of expectations about the potential performance of each child and then grouped the children according to perceived similarities in expected performance. As further supportive evidence for this assumption, the teacher herself informed me that the first table consisted of her "fast learners" while those at the last two tables "had no idea of what was going on in the classroom." What becomes crucial in this discussion is to ascertain the basis upon which the teacher developed her criteria of "fast learner" since there had been no formal testing of the children as to their academic potential or cognitive development. She made evaluative judgments of the expected capacities of the children to perform academic tasks after eight days of school.

Within the framework that the teacher utilized for the evaluation of the potential performance of the children, certain criteria became indicative of expected success and others became indicative of expected failure.

The basis for such an evaluative differentiation among the children would appear to be that those children who closely fit the teacher's "ideal type" of the successful child were chosen for seats at Table 1. Those children that had the least "goodness of fit" with her ideal type were placed at the third table. The criteria upon which the teacher would construct her ideal type of the successful student would rest in her perception of certain attributes in the child that she believed would contribute to future success. To understand what the teacher considered as "success," one would have to examine her perception of the larger society and whom in that larger society she perceived as successful. Thus, in the terms of Merton (1957), one may ask which was the "normative reference group" for Mrs. Caplow that she perecived as being successful.

I believe that the reference group utilized by Mrs. Caplow to determine what constituted success was a mixed black-white, well-educated middle class. That is, those attributes most desired by educated members of the middle class became the basis for her evaluation of the children. Those who possessed these particular characteristics were expected to succeed while those who did not could not be expected to succeed. Thus highly prized middle class status for the child in the classroom was attained by demonstrating ease of interaction among adults; high degree of verbalization in Standard American English; the ability to become a leader; a neat and clean appearance; coming from a family that is educated, employed, living together and interested in the child; and the ability to participate well as a member of a group.

The teacher ascribed status to a certain group of children within the class due to her perception as to what criteria were necessary to be among the fast learners at Table 1. Based on her reference group orientation as to what constituted success, she then responded favorably to those children who possessed such necessary attributes. The bases for her preferential treatment of a select group of children would result from her belief that certain cultural behavior and attributes were more crucial to learning than were others. The placement of the children then, resulted from their possessing or lacking certain desired cultural attributes.

V. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

The organization of the kindergarten classroom according to the expectation of success or failure after the eighth day of school became the basis for the differential treatment of the children for the remainder of the school year. Further discussion will elucidate the mechanisms by which such differential behavior became manifested within the class and the response of the children to the teacher-inspired organization.

From the very day that the class was assigned permanent seats, the activities in the classroom were perceivably different from previously. The fundamental division of the class into those expected to learn and those who would not permeated the teacher's orientation to the class. The single exception to this division was when the speech teacher taught the class. She apparently did not know of Mrs. Caplow's criteria for the seating arrangement and thus did not carry out the same preferential behavior to the Table 1 students as did Mrs. Caplow. This is not to necessarily imply that the speech teacher would have acted out the same type of behavior towards the two groups of children had she known of their division, but rather that by not knowing, there was no basis for her behavior to be similar to that of the regular teacher.

The Speech Teacher

One of the special services that the children at Attucks School receive is the training from a specialist in speech. In kindergarten, the children are taught by this teacher one morning a week for half an hour. As explained by Mrs. Caplow, the speech teacher introduces the children to new sounds and methods of pronounciation which are then practiced daily by the class.

When the speech teacher entered the kindergarten room for the first time on the tenth day of school, she did not speak to either the children or to the teacher, but went and sat by the piano. Mrs. Caplow called the children to her desk where she hung each child's name tag around his neck. This was done in order that the speech teacher would know the names of the children. After putting on each of the name tags, Mrs. Caplow instructed the children to go over to where Mrs. Cavan was seated.

> Mrs. Cavan says nothing to the children. She simply puts her hand on the shoulder of each child and directs him to where she wants him to sit. Tom, one of the last to get his name tag, appears uncertain of where to sit. The first words that Mrs. Cavan speaks in the class are a sharp rebuke in a harsh tone to Tom. "Tom, come over here and go sit by the edge of the row." The remaining two children are also told in a very harsh tone of voice where to sit. When all the children are seated, she directs them, again in a harsh voice, to cross their legs. (9/21/67)

Her introduction to the class was also done in a rather abrupt manner.

> "First, my name is Mrs. Cavan. I am the speech teacher. Say good monning, Mrs. Cavan." The children respond as she instructed. She then repeats her name and asks the children to say it again. They do. She continues, "I will come to see you every Thursday morning, and when I come, we will talk about speech. Does anyone know what speech is?" Frank responds, "Talk." She says, "Yes,

> it's all about talking. Now today we are not going to be talking about your speech, but about animal talk." (9/21/67)

The lesson begins with the teacher asking the children if any of them have a dog. Several indicate that they do and Mrs. Cavan then gives the dog sound (woof, woof) and asks the children to repeat it. They do and it is repeated twice. The same is then done for the cat (meow, meow). Mrs. Cavan then indicates that they will talk about animals on the farm and the sounds that farm animals make. She asks how many of the children in the class have been to a farm and four children from Table 1 raise their hands. She questions those who held up their hands.

> "What do you see on the farm?" David responds, "Tigers." Mrs. Cavan says, "No you don't see a tiger on the farm. You see a tiger in the zoo. Now who else knows an animal on the farm?" Laura says, "Cow." Mrs. Cavan: "Yes. Now let's all say moo, moo." The children repeat "Moo, moo." Frank then suggests a horse and after Mrs. Cavan first gives the sound, the children repeat, "Whinnie, whinnie." Anne says, "I seen chickens." Mrs. Cavan says, "Yes, what do you call a lady chicken?" Tom" "Turkey." Mrs. Cavan: "No, they are called hens. Now all of you say cluck, cluck, cluck." The children do so. The same is then repeated for the rooster and baby chicken (cock-a-doddle-do and peep, peep). (9/21/67)

While Mrs. Cavan was discussing each of the separate farm animals with the children, she did not show them pictures of the particular animal whose sound they were making. Thus when she then brought out a series of pictures after having completed making the various sounds and asked the children which sound a particular animal made, the children did not know. There had been no way for the children to connect the sound with the appearance of the animal. Mrs. Cavan became quite irritated with the children and proceeded through her series of pictures quickly. Whenever an incorrect response was given, she merely said that it was wrong and continued to the next picture. She did not tell the children the correct sound that should be associated with each of the pictures. Her behavior appeared quite routinized and continuous regardless of the response of the children. Many of the children made no response to any of the pictures. Those children who attempted to answer the association of picture and sound were all from Table 1.

After showing the pictures to the children, Mrs. Cavan then took a small, red plastic barn from her purse. There was a cord attached to the barn and when she pulled the cord, there would be the sound of one of the animals on the farm. On several occasions, she wanted a specific sound and would pull the cord until the sound was given. When after four or five pulls, the sound had not been given, she would tell the children that "The horse is asleep in this barn and does not want to come out." The mystification in her message to the children was that there really were animals in her small plastic barn but that they would not come out. Yet apparently even more confusing was that none of the animals ever came out of her barn, but some did make sounds which could be heard coming from the inside of the barn. The attempt on the part of the speech teacher to give an implausible explanation to a plausible situation would not help the children to understand either the size of farm animals nor how she could keep all those animals in her small, red plastic barn.

As the concluding activity for the first speech lesson, the teacher informed the children that they were going to give a "barnyard symphony." No explanation was given as to what constituted a barnyard or a symphony. The children were arranged in pairs standing in a semi-circle and each pair of children was assigned a specific animal sound. After she had assigned all the children a sound, she came to the front of the semi-circle and began to act as if she was directing s symphony. When she pointed to each of the pairs of children, they were to begin making their barnyard sound and continue to do so until she instructed them to cease. In addition, one of the children began saying their animal sound, they were to twirl around where they were standing. The notes captured the final scene of the lesson:

> The lesson is in complete chaos. It is totally disorganized. Some of the children have become quite dizzy and begin to slow down in their twirling. Mrs. Cavan has given no indication to the children that they can stop, so the children continue to turn as long as they can. Finally, she says, "Okay, everybody be quiet. You did well. We talked about animals and how they speak. Next week we will talk some more. I hope next week that the frisky people will be able to sit quietly. Susan, you must have ants in your pants because you're so frisky today." She then puts the red barn in her purse, says "goodbye" to the teacher and leaves the room.

After Mrs. Cavan left the room, Mrs. Caplow came to where the children were standing in the room and spoke to them in a very soft and soothing manner. She asked them in an extremely quiet voice to line up for the rest room. I indicated in the notes taken at the time that it appeared that Mrs. Caplow was somewhat taken aback by the speech teacher and was now trying to calm the children after an encounter with an extremely harsh and demanding adult. Mrs. Caplow's soft speech to the children was to happen weekly after each visit of Mrs. Cavan.

VI. FURTHER SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN THE CLASSROOM

On the tenth day of school, besides the visit of the speech teacher, there were other indications that the class was developing certain mechanisms of internal ogranization. These various mechanisms were either directly initiated by the teacher or else came from the children in response to the teacher.

During the previous school day, Mrs. Caplow had held a morning tea for the parents of all the children in the kindergarten class. She held the tea only in the morning session but asked parents from the afternoon session to also attend. For the tea she had decorated the room with fresh flowers and put a number of pieces of art work done by the children on the walls. She had also drawn two charts for the information of the parents. The first of the signs was entitled "Your Child's Day in Kindergarten." On the sign was a chart of the morning activities divided by time periods beginning with when the children first enter the room until they leave for home at lunch. A similar chart was also constructed for the various time divisions in the afternoon section. The chart basically was a reproduction of the "Teacher's Program Time Allotment Schedule" issued to each teacher in the St. Louis public school system. This schedule is to guide the teacher as she progresses through the day in terms of how much time she should allocate for each activity. Table 5.3 gives both the schedule for each day and the cumulative number of minutes spent on each activity for the two charts. A minimum of one-third of the class time of the child is spent in organization, recess and rest. During several observational periods in which close account was kept of actual minutes spent on various activities, the time allocated to organization, recess and rest came to nearly one-half of the class minutes. Though up until the tenth day of school, the teacher had not followed the organizational chart that she had drawn for the parents, she did begin thereafter to follow it to some degree. While she followed it according to activity sequence, she did not

Daily Activity Schedule and Time Allotment

Time of Day	Length of Period	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.
8:30-8:40	10 Min.	ORGANIZATION				
8:40-8:58	18 "	CREATIVE ARTS				
8:58-9:28	30 "	LANGUAGE ARTS				
9:28-9:35	7 "	RHYTHMS				
9:35-10:05	30 "	LANGUAGE ARTS				
10:05-10:15	10 "	ORGANIZATION				
10:15-10:30	15 "	RECESS				
10:30-10:40	10 "	ORGANIZATION				
10:40-10:55	15 "	REST				
10:55-11:17	22 "	CREATIVE ARTS				
11:17-11:30	13 "	GAMES				
11:30-11:50	20 "	MUSIC				
11:50-12:00	10 "	ORGANIZATION				

Curriculum Areas and Weekly Time Allotment

	A.M. Kindergarten (Based on 1050 min./wk.)
Language Arts**	300
Music	100
Creative Activities	200
Physical Well-Being	250
(Games-Rhythms	(100
(Rest	(75
(Recess	(75
Organization*	200
Total	1050

Table
~~Chart~~ 5.3 Time Allotment for Daily and Weekly Curriculum Activity in Kindergarten Classroom.

follow it according to time allotment. For example, the morning organization took twenty to twenty-five minutes, whereas the chart listed only ten minutes for this activity.

As a short aside in relation to this chart, I cannot help but wonder if the very organization of class activities according to the chart does not produce a self-fulfilling prophecy for the teacher in relation to the children. Not only the kindergarten teacher, but other teachers in the building, (and for that matter, several academics, Riessman, 1962; Loretan and Umans, 1966) have commented on the "short attention span" of low-income ghetto children. The implication is that the children cannot concentrate on any single task or activity for any length of time. One teacher put it this way: "Their minds just begin to wander."

As an alternative view, may it not be the case that the fragmentation of the child's activities into seven-to-thirty-minute segments creates the very conditions by which the child is not allowed to develop or maintain attention for a long period of time. Though this is purely speculative, I do not assume that most children come to school from a home where their activities are regulated by such a schedule. Until the children are of school age, they simply live through the day with periodic interruptions for lunch or naps. Yet when they come into school, they are to accomodate themselves to a routine that has them engaging in a different activity as often as seven minutes apart. When the children cannot grasp this fragmentation of their activities, and are unable to switch concentrated attention so frequently, the teachers bemoan their lack of attention span. The very structure of the school day appears to negate the achievement of what the teachers deem desirable and produces that which they deem undesirable.

Thus it may be more profitable to explain the presence of short time-span activities for the children in the class, not in terms of an inherent deficiency in "attention span," but rather as a failure of the school organization to allow the children to display interest in an activity for a long period of time.

A second chart which the kindergarten teacher had drawn for the parents was entitled "developmental areas of Kindergarten Program." The following five areas were listed:

1) Emotional and social development
2) Orientation to school life
3) Physical development
4) Intellectual development
5) Aesthetic appreciation development

No explanation of any of these areas was offered, but in terms of how the teacher would operationalize them, one may consult her "teacher's credo" (discussed earlier) for implications.

Further indications of the social organization by which the teacher and the students were attempting to order their day together in the classroom gradually became apparent. For example, at certain clues from the teacher, the entire class would respond in a manner desired by the teacher. I am unable to determine if the response given by the children resulted solely from their conditioning by the teacher or as an adaptive response on their part to please the teacher. In other words, was the mass response of the children to the teacher's question the result of process where the children were trained to act without conscious choice? Or alternatively, did they perceive that it was desirable to gain the favor of the teacher by responding as she indicated that she would like for them to do so? A third possibility may be the simultaneous presence of both conditioned and adaptive characteristics in the responses.

> Then she says, "Let's see who is really smart today. Whoever is smart raise your hand." All the children raise their hand. She continues, "Okay, hands down. Now, how do we learn? What helps us to learn?" Karen at this point gets up from the group and goes to the library table for a book. Mrs. Caplow responds, "Karen, leave your book alone and come back here and sit down." This the child does. "Okay, who remembers what helps us to learn?" To give some clue to the children as what she expects as an answer, she points to her eyes. One of the boys says, "Eyes." She says, "Yes." Another boy offers "Tongue" which the teacher indicates is correct. With other promptings, the children also say "ears" and "hands." Mrs. Caplow continues, "We use our eyes, our ears, our nose, and our mouth to help us see, hear, to smell and to taste. Okay, now this morning we are going to use our eyes to learn. Who has big eyes?" All the children raise their hand. "Okay, now you can put your hands down." (9/21/67)

Henry (1955) has previously documented a similar type of response which he labeled "docility"--that is, the condition where children give the teacher the response she desires. The children in the kindergarten class began to interpret the clues of the teacher and responded with the "appropriate" hand raising or verbalization. Just as I am uncertain as to whether the children's response was conditioned, adaptive, or both, so also am I uncertain as to the basis for the stimulus from the teacher. Were such "broadcasted clues" given the children because she believed that they aided the learning process, or did she give the clues to insure a self-gratifying response from the children? If the former alternative is the case, the reason for it may stem from the teacher's strong emphasis upon group participation and activity. That is, she may have adhered to the philosophy that children who respond together learn together. If on the other hand, the second alternative is correct, then the teacher engaged in the activity for more self-serving reasons. If one desired immediate and total assurance from the class that they were all aware and enthused in the class activities, merely asking a leading question to the children in such a manner would ensure the appropriate response. The children, then, were manipulated in order to assure the teacher that she had total command of them and their interests.

Within the first ten school days, Mrs. Caplow had established the framework for the organization of the class that was to remain through the end of school in June. The division of the children into three groups appeared to be based upon her expectation of their potential academic performance. Once the divisions had been made, the activities of the class began to gravitate around this arrangement. Likewise the presence of the speech teacher became a weekly experience for the children, and the manner in which she taught the children during the first lesson was to carry over in all future lessons also. The interactional patterns of the students, both with one another and with the teacher began to follow predictable patterns with, again, the teacher's division of the class being of crucial importance. Whereas the children entered the room on the first day of school with no knowledge of one another or of the teacher, by the time they returned for the beginning of the third week, they had become a part of a social system with organizational routines that governed much of their activity. A hierarchy of students had been formulated in relation to the teacher, interactional patterns were established and the daily routine of classroom activities had begun. Thus the basis was established for the flow of behavior through the remainder of the school year.

CHAPTER VI

KINDERGARTEN: THROUGH THREE SEASONS

St. Louis has a beautiful fall. During this season when the trees of the city are arrayed in a splendid assortment of red, gold, and orange leaves, warm days may linger into the first weeks of November. The Indian summer provides a soothing interlude for the city dweller between the heat and humidity of the summer and the cold and slush of the coming winter. Both the teacher and the students miss most of this, however, for they are confined to the building a good part of the day. When there are periods to go outside, the children are fenced inside an asphalt playground that has not a tree or a blade of grass. They are surrounded by streets, houses, filling stations, liquor stores and have the constant noise of cars, buses and heavy trucks using the major throughfare a half-block away. As Smith and Geoffrey note (1968), the teacher misses the "pastoral quality of other people's Indian summer. Usually the teacher finds satisfaction in the stabilization of his group into a working unit. Expectations have been clarified, roles have been settled, and movement towards generally accepted goals is well begun." This description fits well the situation of Mrs. Caplow and the students in her kindergarten class. From fall to winter and spring, the events of the class will flow smoothly with only few exceptions. The organization of the class has provided a basic framework within which behavior, interaction, and socialization continually appear as dynamic social processes.

This chapter is divided into three sections, one for each of the three seasons that the children spend in Attucks School. The division according to seasons was chosen to give continuity to the activities of the class. A discussion based on divisions such as report card day or the first day of each month would be artificial simply because the activities of the class carried through many of the interruptions of these artificial divisions and new material was introduced to the children as they were ready.

Within the three sections of this chapter, however, there will be a shift in the focus of analysis. Until Christmas, attention was focused on the activities of the teacher and the entire class. Note was made of group behavior and methods of further social organization introduced into the class routine. The description of the flow of behavior through these first four months of the school year attempted to include discussion of the variety of relational activities of the teacher to the class. After Christmas, a methodological decision was made to concentrate more closely on four children, two defined by the teacher as "doing well" and seated at Table 1 and two defined as "doing poorly" and seated at Table 3. It was thought in this manner that it would become more evident how specific children cope with and adapt to the organizational structure and routine of the class. It was also believed that with more intensive analysis, there would be opportunity to observe how the children perceived themselves as members of either Table 1 or 3 in relation to others in the class. Thus, observation during the second half of the school year sought to narrow the focus of analysis even more specifically to the daily activities and interactions of only four children. It is believed that only by case study on the level of micro-analysis can one ultimately understand the impact of the three previous levels of analysis utilized in this study: the system, the school, and the class.

The major goal of this chapter is to detail over time, in an essentially ethnographic manner, the impact of social organization and processes of socialization on the kindergarten classroom experience of children in Attucks School. In addition to direct accounts of classroom activity and interaction, there is interspersed through the chapter a number of interpretative asides, both related to the concerns of socialization and social organization as well as pedagogy. The latter are not offered as a means to degrade or belittle the teacher, but rather to demonstrate the manner in which the teaching process itself may be affected by other than academic concerns. There may appear to the reader to be a great deal of repetitious material present in the following account of the classroom, and such is the case. This, however, is hopefully a valid representation of the activities of the classroom over time. The class activities were repetitive to the extreme with the patterns of social organization limiting the possible number of alternative responses. The very fact of a rigid separation of the class into groups predisposed the class to certain forms of interactional sequences, given the teacher's differential expectations for the groups. Thus the repetitious occurrence of events in the chapter is included to give indication of the repetitious experience of the children in the room.

1. FALL

Allport (1954) and Proshansky (1966) have both noted that the pre-school and first years of elementary school (ages three to approximately seven) are generally recognized as the crucial period in the child's development of feelings about himself and others who are ethnically different. As Proshansky and Newton indicate (1968):

> During this period the child becomes increasingly aware of racial differences and learns labels and affective responses associated with various ethnic groups including his own. The research indicates that the Negro child and his white counterpart become aware of color or racial differences as early as age three or four and that within this awareness lies an inchoate understanding of the valuations placed on this color by the larger society.

Within the kindergarten classroom the child was actively involved in two simultaneous processes: first, determining "who he is," and second, ascertaining the value related to who he is. Though analytically the conception and evaluation of identity must be kept separate, they are inextricably interwoven. The child learns that he is black within a value-laden context that defines what it means to be black in clearly affective terms.

When the children first came to the kindergarten classroom, the teacher had put on the bulletin boards several pictures related to "Summer Fun" and"Summer Play." These posters were in three weeks replaced with those which had the motif of fall and the change in the color of the leaves. Two new pictures were simply of large trees with beautiful golden boughs, and the third was entitled "Autumn is Here." In this picture were two white women and a white man walking through a forest area where the leaves had changed. From the first days of school, the children were constantly surrounded in the room with pictures of white people. There was not a single picture of a black adult or child in the classroom. When pictures of whites were labled as "Our Principal," "Our Nurse," or "Our Librarian," the children were presented with a clear contradiction. Those whom they knew to be black, they were told were white.

Detailed examination of the impact of those pictures on the self-conceptualization and self-evaluation of the black kindergarten child is outside the scope of this study. However, research of Clark and Clark (1947), Goodman (1952), Landreth and Johnson (1962), Morland (1962), Radke and Trager (1950), and Stevenson and Steward (1958) would indicate that such a situation is extremely detrimental to the black child where "blackness" is totally denied and "whiteness" is associated with the pleasure of swimming, walking through the forest and playing on a jungle gym. The continued use by the teacher of whites in pictures may also be interpreted as her own desire for those things associated with "whiteness" as opposed to "blackness" (cf. E. E. Frazier, 1957).

September 26:

A theme in discussion with Mrs. Caplow that periodically arose concerned the lack of parental interest and involvement in the children and their school activities. She commented on several occasions that if the home were more involved and concerned about the school, the school situation would vastly improve and teachers "could really begin to teach." For those parents who did participate, Mrs. Caplow appeared to believe that their participation, for the most part, was tenuous at best. That is, with the least discouragement, the parents would cease all interest and participation in the activities of the school. Such participation was evaluated not only in terms of presence at Parent-Teacher meetings or volunteering food for the class bake sale, but supplying the child with two cents each day for a half-pint of milk.

> Mrs. Caplow introduced me to Mrs. Borger, the school aid. Mrs. Caplow explained that Mrs. Borger came to each of the rooms and took count of how many children would be having milk after the recess. She then told Mrs. Borger to bring milk for all but five of the children, indicating that these five had not brought their two cents. I volunteered to buy the milk for the children, but she responded, "Oh no, if we started doing that, it would encourage the parents not to send their money. If the child goes a few without milk, they will let the parents know--and besides, it is only two cents. Those children who did not bring their money will be able to rest while the other children drink their milk. I guess those who forgot their money did not tell their parents to give them any." (9/26/67)

All five of those children who did not have money for milk were seated at Table 3 and four of the five came from homes supported by public welfare funds.

September 28

On the 28th of September, the teacher began a series of lessons to teach the children the notion of "equal." She would have two or three children come to the front of the room and each hold, for example, a cup. She would then call either two or three other children to the front and give them a saucer. Her question to the class would then be whether there were an equal number of cups and saucers. Or she would call two groups of children to the front asking the class whether there was an equal or unequal number. At times, the discussion of the concept "equal" became quite elaborate. One such lesson was done using the motif of a birthday party.

> Mrs. Caplow then tacks on the flannel board a picture of a white mother and five children looking at a birthday cake. She says to the children when the picture is in place, "Okay, now every day when we come to school we want to learn something new. Let's look at this picture and Mrs. Caplow says, "Oh, let's all look here." The children do. Joe, in anticipation of the teacher, asks, "Do you want us to tell you about the picture?" Before Mrs. Caplow can respond, he continues, "I see a birthday cake." Mrs. Caplow: "That's good. What else do you see?" Laura: "They are having a birthday party." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, what else?" Anne: "They are goin' drink milk." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes they are." (9/28/67)

In the picture beside the plate of each of the six persons is a party favor. Mrs. Caplow explains that a favor is a prize that one may receive at a party. With this as the introduction to the lesson, Mrs. Caplow moves into the discussion of the concept of equal. As with previous lessons, she again utilized two groups of children in front of the room. After asking several questions of the class concerning the number of favors that each of the children have, she then poses the question, "Now, do all the children have the same number of favors?" Laura responds "yes" and Mrs. Caplow accepts this single response as the answer for the entire class.

In Mrs. Caplow's teaching of this lesson are evident several implications beyond the presentation of the subject matter itself. When she explained favors as "prizes" she was assuming that prizes was a word familiar to the children and that it was a sufficient definition for "favors." Secondly, she apparently assumed that the children had a capacity and interest in "make-believe." For when she passed out the "favors," (piece of rolled paper tied with ribbon), she commented that it was "such fun to receive a favor at the party." She also asked the children if they were having "fun" and enjoying themselves at the party. All the children raised their hands.

Later in the morning was another example of the children apparently responding to the teacher in a manner that she would desire. The entire class appeared to have learned quite well the clues which were to signal that the teacher desired a unanimous response.

> Mrs. Caplow then says, "How many of you can be quiet workers? Raise your hand." All the children raise their hand. She continues, "How many of you can be good workers today?" The children still have their hands raised and she looks at them, smiles, and says, "That's nice. Now put your hands down." (9/28/67)

Within this same incident there also appears to be an additional example of a "phantom performance" by the teacher. The children did not have an opportunity to make a response to her second question, yet the teacher spoke to them as if they had.

After the lesson on "equals" and prior to the coming of the speech teacher, Joe asked Mrs. Caplow if Mrs. Cavan was going to teach the class. Mrs. Caplow responded that she would but it would be later in the morning. The children began to talk among themselves about Mrs. Cavan and Mrs. Caplow asked, "Why are some of you so excited today?" Though the children did not verbalize either anxiety or fear of the speech teacher, this may have been the source of their being "excited." The children continued to whisper among themselves and Mrs. Caplow then said, "Okay, let's see who can be real quiet today. The people that are very smart are those that are very quiet. Now I am going to ask you what day it is and only the smart people will raise their hand. They will not talk out." Frank says, "It's Sunday." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Frank, I thought you were smart and besides, today is not Sunday. Smart people do not talk out." The notes reveal the continuation of the lesson on determining what was the name of the day and how Mrs. Caplow finally elicited the correct answer.

> Mrs. Caplow continues, "Okay, if you know what day it is, raise your hand." Several children raise their hand and there is no talking. She calls on Fred. "Fred, do you know what day it is?" Fred responds, "It Monday." Mrs. Caplow asks Fred to give his answer in a complete sentence. "Fred, say, 'Today is Monday.'" He does. Mrs. Caplow then asks the entire class, "Is that right boys and girls?" Several of the children respond that it is not. She says, "Yes, it is not Monday. What day is it Virginia?" Virginia responds, "Saturday." Mrs. Caplow does not ask Virginia to repeat her incorrect answer in a complete sentence and merely tells her that it is not Saturday. She then turns to Laura and says, "I guess I will have to call on Laura. Laura, what day is today?" Laura: "Thursday." Mrs. Caplow says, "Yes, that is very good." (9/28/67).

There are several factors in this interchange between Mrs. Caplow and the students that bear further analysis. With Fred, Mrs. Caplow indicated that if one is going to give an answer, be it even an incorrect one, there is a "correct" manner in which one does it. All answers are to be in correct and complete sentences. Yet this same instruction was not enforced with Virginia, the next child called to give the name of the day. When Mrs. Caplow came to call on Laura, she did it in such a manner as to humiliate the other children. Laura was held as the example of a student who could be depended upon after other children have displayed their failure. Likewise, Laura was not required to give her answer in a complete sentence as was Fred. (Laura sat at Table 1, Virginia at Table 2 and Fred at Table 3.)

When Mrs. Cavan entered the room, Mrs. Caplow again placed the name tags on each of the children and instructed them to go and sit by Mrs. Cavan at the piano. Mrs. Cavan's first words were directed towards Susan. "Susan, are you going to be quiet and still today?" Susan made no response. While the children continued to come to the piano, Laura called Fred an "almond head." Fred, in turn, responded, "Girl, you the almond head." Mrs. Cavan then began the lesson.

> In a very loud voice she asks the children, "What speech helpers do we have when we talk. David responds, "Our mouth." Mrs. Cavan says, "No, what parts of the mouth do we use?" She now points at parts of her mouth, i.e., tongue, lips, etc., the children then give the answer. She continues, "Now when we are going to use our mouth, what do we use?" Frank says, "Tongue." Her response: "No." Joe: "Our lips." "No." Tom: "Our chin." "No." She now points to her jaw and one of the girls says, "Jaw." Mrs. Cavan responds, "Yes, now all of you say jaw." The children do. (9/28/67).

Mrs. Cavan then told the children that she was going to teach them a poem. She does not tell them either what is a poem or what the title of the poem was.

> "I want to see everyone's eyes right here. Look at me. Everyone's eyes look right here." She is pointing to her open mouth. She rises from her seat, goes and lifts Marcia by both arms off the floor and brings her next to the piano bench. She tells Marcia, "Now I can keep you from looking out of the window. She then recites the poem.
>
> Lips together, me, me, me;
> Teeth together, see, see, see;
> Tongue peeks out, three, three, three;
> That's the way for you and me.
>
> Tip of tongue, two, two, two;
> Tip again, do, do, do;
> Lips again, lu, lu, lu;
> That's what our speech helpers do.
>
> She asks the children to repeat the poem and no child makes a sound. She has the children repeat the poem line by line after her, first with the words and then a second time through simply saying "lu, lu, lu" in place of the words. The children are completely baffled and do not say anything.

> At the end of the second repetition she comments, "Okay, that was good. We will have to do that again next week."

Until this time, her only physical contact with any of the children was when she picked Marcia from the floor and carried her to the piano bench. However, as she has the children again repeat the poem for the third time she rises from her seat and begins to move around the room pinching the children, turning their heads, pinching ears, and literally shouting into their face, "I want to see your eyes." After completing the poem she sits down and then has the children repeat it again for the fourth time. She attempts a short review with the children on what they had covered in the lesson and then gives instructions on how to say "goodbye" to her.

> "Okay, that is all for today, boys and girls. But before I leave, what are our speech helpers?" She sticks out her tongue, puckers her lips and points to her jaw. She continues, "Now I am going to say 'goodbye' just once to you and you can just once to me 'goodbye, Mrs. Cavan.' You are not to make any other sound to me. 'Goodbye, boys and girls.'" The children respond "Goodbye, Mrs. Cavan." The room is now very quiet and the speech teacher moves towards the door. As she is about to leave, one of the girls says softly, "Goodbye, Mrs. Cavan." Mrs. Cavan turns to the child and says in a loud and harsh voice, "I told you not to say anything else to me." She then walks out of the room. (9/28/67)

In an attempt to sooth the children after Mrs. Cavan leaves, Mrs. Caplow speaks to the children in a very soft voice and tells them that they can now either sit at their desks or else color any picture they wish. Ten of the children put their heads down on their desks, and the remaining twenty begin to color. During this period, I had a chance to speak informally with Mrs. Caplow. I asked her what she thought was the greatest difficulty she encountered in teaching kindergarten. She responded that without a doubt her major problem was to "get the children to begin to work together." She defined working together as entailing "Being quiet, being polite, learning manners, not to look on the paper of anyone else, and to always ask permission when they want to do something in the room." She noted that she had to "start from scratch" with the majority of the children in the class due to the fact that the parents "did nothing for the children." This was the basis for her desire to remain a kindergarten teacher in order that she could help to "get to the children early before it is too late." She again urged that I observe the children closely throughout the year and she indicated that I would not know in the coming June "they were the same group of children." Ways in which the children would be noticeably different included being less "fidgety;" more able to concentrate because of longer attention spans; able to do their own work; and an end to the "trouble" in the room due to boys rolling on the floor. She noted that she enjoyed teaching kindergarten because "it is such a rewarding and wonderful thing to work with these children and see them grow."

On the 28th of September, there were seven new students added to the kindergarten classroom. A kindergarten class at a nearby school had only fourteen children and thus was closed because it had less than the minimum number stipulated by the Board of Education. The total number of children in the class now equaled thirty. I was not present when the children first came to the room and thus do not know the manner in which Mrs. Caplow assigned seats to the new students. However, it appears that she used similar criteria to those employed in working out the first seating arrangement. Figure 6.1 represents the revised totals for the

TABLE 6.1

DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS FACTORS BY SEATING ARRANGEMENT AT THE THREE TABLES IN THE KINDERGARTEN CLASSROOM*

FACTOR	SEATING ARRANGEMENT**		
	TABLE 1	TABLE 2	TABLE 3
INCOME			
1) Families on welfare	0	2	4
2) Families with father employed.	6	3 (1)	2 (1)
3) Families with mother employed.	5 (1)	5 (1)	5 (2)
4) Families with both parents employed.	5 (1)	3 (1)	2 (1)
5) Total family income below $3,000/yr***.	0	4 (1)	7 (1)
6) Total family income above $12,000/yr.***	4	0	0
EDUCATION			
1) Fathers over grade school	6	3	2
2) Fathers over high school. .	5	2	1
3) Fathers over college. . . .	1	0	0
4) Mothers over grade school	9 (2)	10 (2)	8 (1)
5) Mothers over high school. .	7 (1)	6 (2)	5 (1)
6) Mothers over college. . . .	4	0	0
7) Children with pre-school experience.	1	1	0
FAMILY SIZE			
1) Families with one child . .	3	1	0
2) Families with six or more children.	2 (1)	6 (2)	7 (1)
3) Average number of siblings in family	3-4	5-6	6-7
4) Families with both parents present	6	3	2

*Revised with increased class size.

**There are nine children at Table 1, eleven at Table 2 and ten children at Table 3. Number in parentheses indicates increase with addition of seven students. Previously, seven children at Table 1, eight at Table 2 and eight children at Table 3.

***Estimated from stated occupation

various indices of social status in the class. The number within the parentheses indicates the increase due to the inclusion of the seven new students.

October 3:

During the month of October, Mrs. Caplow spent many hours involving the children in various Halloween activities. Again the bulletin boards were changed and pictures of bats, witches, pumpkins and ghosts replaced those of autumn. In the room Mrs. Caplow constructed a five-foot witch with a broom, tall pointed hat, blond hair, and surrounded by pumpkins. She placed the witch next to the piano. Her first discussion with the children concerning Halloween involved this witch and also a good deal of the traditional superstitions related to the observance of Halloween.

> Mrs. Caplow was standing by the piano and asked the children to look around the room and tell her what they saw that was new. Frank responded, "A witch." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, but why do we have a witch in the room now?" Laura: "Because it October and in October we have Halloween." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, that is right, Laura. Okay, now can any of you boys and girls tell me what the witch is doing?" Mike answers, "She moppin'. Mrs. Caplow then asks Joe what he believes the witch is doing and he suggests the witch is "Cookin'." Mrs. Caplow asks what Joe thinks she is cooking and Joe replies that the witch is cooking pumpkin sauce. When Laura is asked, she responds that the witch is cooking a pumpkin pie. Tom is asked and responds also that the witch is cooking a pumpkin pie. Marcia responds with a similar answer. When Virginia is asked, she responds that the witch is cooking carrots. Frank calls out that the witch is sweeping the floor. (10/3/67)

Mrs. Caplow did not give her own interpretation of what the witch was doing and appeared to accept all the answers of the children without indicating anyone being more or less plausible than another. After the answer of Joe, the following four children also respond that the witch is cooking, whether it be pumpkin sauce or carrots. This repeated response of saying what the first child had said, Henry (1967) has termed "perseverating." The children were asked to respond to a question that appeared to have had no real meaning in relation to their experience; the teacher was asking them to respond from their world of fantasy. There is a paper-mache figure dressed in black with a broom leaning against a piano in a kindergarten classroom. The teacher asks the child what he believes the "witch" is doing. The teacher, by asking what the witch is "doing," makes the explicit implication that the figure labeled "witch" is engaged in some activity. The anxiety of the children in attempting to handle such a situation appears to have been resolved by giving a routinized response. The children have to engage in a form of fantasy in the class attempting to determine what the figure leaning against the piano is "doing."

> She then continues, "Why do we have a witch in the room?" Frank responds, " 'Cause Halloween is comin'." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, and at Halloween all sorts of strange things happen. At Halloween witches and goblins come out. Bats and bugs fly around the city. Ghosts float up and down the street. It is indeed a strange night. She then asks the children, "Is the witch real?" Many of the children say "No, no." She responds, "You are right. She is not real. I made her. She will not fly away on her broom because she is just a pretend witch." (10/3/67)

There is now way of knowing what impact Mrs. Caplow's description of Halloween had upon the children. They may very well have believed her, (for who is a five-year-old to dispute the word of an adult and a teacher). The last sentence of her explanation may also have had some impact upon the children, for the implication is that though her pretend witch cannot fly, "real" witches can fly.

Within American culture, there are a wide variety of fantasy figures taught in a standardized way to children. There is Santa Claus, the Easter bunny, the good fairy who puts a coin under the pillow when a tooth falls out, and all the characters from fairy tales and nursery rhymes. The middle class child is familiar with these characters from the fantasy world long before he enters public school. From a young age, he has heard stories about Mother Goose, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, Alice in Wonderland, Mickey Mouse and many other fantasy characters. From this exposure to fantasy and the stories surrounding them, the child "gets to have a certain public phantasy capability, which enables him to deal easily with whimsy" (Henry, 1967). To make the assumption, as does the kindergarten teacher at Attucks School, that the black child from the urban ghetto shares the same set of fantasy figures or in fact understands fantasy in a similar fashion to the white child is suspect at least. There appears to be no basis to assume that the ghetto child shares the same middle class standardized orientation to the fantasy characters as do white children.

There are at least two factors that might inhibit shared cultural fantasies. The first is the reality of class differentials between poor urban dwellers and middle class suburban dwellers, and the second is the consideration of the cultural milieu differences between the black urban culture and white suburban culture. One question is pertinent to both of these differentials; that is to what degree do these two class and cultural milieus share a similar set of fantasy beliefs and orientations. The kindergarten teacher appears to assume that, in fact, the black and white child do have the same fantasy context, regardless of cultural and class differences. There is no data as to the significance of make believe for the black child. Thus it is not known whether the use of such fantasy is beneficial or detrimental to the learning process.

Later in the same morning Mrs. Caplow began to teach the children their first Halloween song, "Its Halloween Night." The lyrics of the song are as follows" "Witches and goblins, Jack-o-lanterns and funny faces, black cats and flying bats, all come on Halloween night." When the children had spoken the lyrics twice, Mrs. Caplow then asked the children to sing the song. She gave them special directions as to how they were to sing it.

> "Okay, let's make it sound real spooky." This she tells the children in a soft and hushed voice. "Let's make it like witches and goblins are really flying around the room." The children then sing the song though they are weak and off key. When they finish, Mrs. Caplow says in a hushed voice, "Okay, now say boo!" The children respond with a much louder "Boo." She comments, "Okay, that's good. That would really scare somebody. Now you should tip back to your seats just like little ghosts." The children then walk on their tip-toes back to their seats. (10/3/67).

The motif of Halloween was further used in the room when the teacher had the children make "Jack-o-lanterns" from colored construction paper. She informed the children that they were going to make jack-o-lanterns, though she never explaintd to them what a jack-o-lantern is.

> She asks the children what shapes there are for a jack-o-lantern and Frank replies, "Round." Marcia says they are "Square." Mrs. Caplow says, "Yes, they are all shapes. Some are round, some oval, some thin and some are even short. (10/3/67)

In her reply to the children as to the shapes of jack-o-lanterns she confused two different attributes of an object. Shape is not the same as dimension, though in her list of shapes she included "short." Such a response is a distortion of cognitive concepts, and rather than making more clear the distinct notions of shape and dimension, she combined them. The message to the children contained a mutually contradictory relationship. Such a contradictory inference is the basis for what Henry (1967) terms "anti-cogniton" or the process of "anti-learning."

As the children began cutting out their jack-o-lanterns, Mrs. Caplow asked them to stop and watch her at the board, where she drew four circles. She planned to cut pieces of construction paper and tape them to the board for the various features of the pumpkin.

> "Okay, now I have some different colored paper for you to use, some is black and some is yellow. You will be able to use this paper to cut out the features. Say "features." The children do. She continues, "Features mean eyes, nose, ears and mouth." She cuts out a triangle for the eye. She holds the triangle for the children to see and says, "This is a triangle. Say triangle." The children do. She then cuts a second and tapes them both to the board. (10/3/67)

It would appear that this short explanation of "features" and "triangles" contained elements of mystification for the child. From the manner in which the teacher defined "features," the child would be correct in calling his eyes, nose, mouth and ears his features. Thus the child would be able to state that he blows his feature, hears through his feature, sees with his feature and eats through his feature. There was a lack of definition of the categories and words involved. Likewise, the message in the teacher's definition of a "triangle" was not clear. From what she stated, a child would not know whether a triangle was a piece of paper, a shape of a particular piece of paper, merely a shape, or--even more confusing--a symbol of the human eye. The message of the definition was not clear.

October 5:

Beginning on this date, the children were no longer observed saying a prayer after the opening morning exercises. I questioned the teacher about the lack of a prayer and she related that one of the parents had come to the school and asked to have her child excused from the morning opening activities. The mother explained that the family were members of the Jehovahs Witnesses. Mrs. Caplow related that rather than having the child either leave the room or feel uncomfortable if he stayed, she thought it easier to simply omit praying.

On the same date, there was a clear example of one of the children from Table 1 continuing to have close rapport with the teacher, while also building stronger solidarity with her. Laura is quoted as saying to Mrs. Caplow, "I love you, Mrs. Caplow." The teacher responded in a very pleasant and pleased voice, "Well, I love you too, Laura. In fact, I love all the boys and girls." Laura's comment to the teacher appeared to make the teacher quite happy, for she continued to be very supportive and soft-spoken with the children during the remainder of the morning period.

The especially close relationship that apperred to be developing between Laura and the teacher was strongly evident in October. Laura also continued to be an instrument through which the teacher would express her belittlement of those children who could not participate as Laura could.

> Mrs. Caplow then asks the children, "Do you boys and girls know what week this is?" Rich raises his hand as do a large number of children. Mrs. Caplow asks Rich if he knows the answer and he responds "Tuesday." Mrs. Caplow says, "No, not the name of the day. Joe, do you know what week it is?" Joe responds, Mary, do you know the name of the week?" Mary: "It cold outside." Mrs. Caplow is becoming noticeably irritated and says, "No, that is not it either. I guess I will have to call on Laura. Laura come up here and stand by me. Then you can tell the other boys and girls what special week this is." Laura comes to the front, stands by Mrs. Caplow and faces the class. Mrs. Caplow has her arm around Laura. Laura says, "It fire week." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Well, Laura that is close. Actually it is Fire Prevention Week." (10/5/67)

Within the above interchange among the teacher and several of the students are specific interactional sequences that bear further analysis. First, only with Laura did Mrs. Caplow give an additional hint as to the answer that she sought. While the rest of the children were merely asked what week it was, Laura was asked what "special" week it was. This added assistance could not help but continue to insure that Laura would be one that Mrs. Caplow "could always rely on." Secondly, the obvious favoritism of Mrs. Caplow for Laura would not go unnoticed by the remainder of the class. Being asked to come to the front of the room to give the answer indicated that Mrs. Caplow held Laura in special favor. Then also by putting her arm around Laura, the teacher gave the physical supportive contact that was seldom experienced by any child in the room. Third, the message in the question posed to the children was, again, unclear. That is, the teacher's use of the word "week" was seemingly not understood by the children, and, the children responded with apparent logical answers to an uncertain question. There may very well have been a strong element of mystification inherent in the question for the children. The teacher had previously discussed with them the concepts of a "day" and a "month." Likewise the children each day discussed the weather. But there may not have been a similar discussion of the concept of week. The children responded from the frame of reference of the type of questions the teacher has asked them previously. There is absent from the notes for the first six weeks of school any mention by the teacher of the word "week" prior to this question.

October 10:

As one of Mrs. Caplow's lessons to familiarize the children with their "community helpers," she took the children on a short walk to a nearby fire station. Her instructions to the children prior to their leaving the room were as follows:

> "Now, boys and girls, when we go to the fire station, let's use our very best manners and be polite. Let's show the fireman what smart people we are and how we can all mind our manners. The firemen are kind men. They help to save our houses when they start to burn, so we should be very nice to them and also be polite to them. Now, don't forget. We will want to use our very best manners. Does anyone know another name for the firemen?" None of the children make any response. She continues, "They are known as fire fighters. That's a new term that they like to be called. Say fire fighters." The children repeat the phrase. Mrs. Caplow: "That's good. So when we get there we can say, 'Good morning, Mr. Firefighter.' Now say 'Good morning, Mr. Firefighter'." The children repeat the sentence. (10/10/67)

On the way to the fire station the children passed a fire alarm box and Mrs. Caplow explained its function as being a place where one could "come and tell the firemen that there is a fire nearby." With all the leaves off the trees, many of the children expressed noticeable enjoyment in being able to shuffle their feet through the leaves. The children also made comments on the condition of the trees:

> Laura looks up at the trees and comments, "Oh, look at the naked trees." The children near Laura begin to giggle and Art comments. "yea, they sure naked, ain't they." Frank adds, "They don't look like no naked trees to me." Laura retorts, "Boy, don't you know no naked tree when you see one." Mrs. Caplow has overheard this conversation and says to the children, "Boys and girls, those trees are not naked, they are bare. Those are bare trees. All the leaves have fallen off so now the trees are bare." (10/11/67)

October 17:

This date wws a particularly important day, both for the social organization of the children in the class and also for my future relation to several of the children. First, Mrs. Caplow discontinued teaching the class as an entire unit and instead divided it into two sections. The first section consisted of the children at Table 1 and the other section was the children from Tables 2 and 3. From this day forward, reading readiness, arithmetic readiness, phonics and art activities were most often taught separeely to the two groups. As was to become apparent very quickly, the amount of time spent teaching the Table 1 group was two to three times greater than it was teaching Table 2 and 3 children. Children from the last two tables were also used frequently as "stand-ins" for the first table. That is, when Mrs. Caplow wished to demonstrate a concept such as addition to the Table 1 students, she would have children from the last two tables come to the front where she would use them as "numbers" to be added together. The children in front would be shuffled to create new addition problems for the children at Table 1 to solve. A typical problem was: "If I have two children on one side and one child on the other, how many would I have if I brought them all in front of me?" The children would then be moved through the various parts of the problem.

Secondly, the children at Table 1 were more frequently directing belittlement and ridicule at the children from Tables 2 and 3. Though incidents had been observed in the past, additional such incidents were observed during the morning.

> David came to where I was seated and told me to look at the shoes that Lilly was wearing to school. I asked him why I should look at the shoes and he responded, "Cause they so ragged and dirty." (David sits at Table 1 and Lilly at Table 3.) (10/17/67)
>
> Susan has brought two magazines from home. She is at her desk looking through one of them. Mrs. Caplow comes to Susan and asks if she would like to share the magazine she is not reading with another child. Before Susan can reply, Frank comes and takes a magazine from Susan commenting,"She don't need no magazine." (Frank is from Table 1, Susan from Table 3.) (10/17/67)

No incident was recorded in which a child from either Table 2 or 3 ever initiated a derogatory remark towards a child at the first table.

Third, Mrs. Caplow indicated that she had selected, at my request, two children in the class whom she thought were "doing well" and two who were "doing poorly." This request had been made of Mrs. Caplow in order that I could begin more intensive observation of these four children within the classroom and also learn more about them and their parents outside the classroom.

Rather than my selecting the children, I asked her to do so, for it is teacher's perception of who does well and who does poorly in the class that is most crucial. The two children selected as doing well, Laura and

Frank, both sat at Table 1. Lilly and Brad, the two children selected as doing poorly, both sat at Table 3. Without my asking, Mrs. Caplow also called the families of three of the children and explained who I was and that I wished to meet the parents. None of these three parents whom she contacted asked not be visited. Rather, Laura's mother, especially, was quite vocal in her disappointment during my first visit that I had postponed coming to their home until three weeks after Mrs. Caplow's phone call.

October 19:

Mrs. Cavan, the speech teacher, taught her fifth lesson to the class. The children, when they were told to form a semi-circle around Mrs. Cavan, did so, but at a good distance away from her and huddled very close together. Many of the children display a good deal of anxiety, trying to leave the group for either the bathroom or for a drink of water, facing directly away from the group, or not responding to any of the questions asked by Mrs. Cavan. One child from Table 1 did try to ask a question of Mrs. Cavan as she described the "gray goose sound." Joe asked whether the gray goose can drink water, but the teacher ignored the question. This was the only verbalization within the context of the lesson that any child in the class initiated with Mrs. Cavan until she was ready to leave the room. Several of the children, notably, Susan, Art, and Mike, interrupted the teacher to request permission to leave the group. Susan requested such permission three times.

Until the fifth lesson, there had not been a single recorded instance in which a child sitting at the periphery of the group had attempted within the context of the lesson, to establish contact with the speech teacher. This large group of students from Tables 2 and 3 sat passively throughout the lessons and would respond, most often, only when called upon. The first attempt of one of this group of children to establish interaction with the teacher and attempt to participate in the lesson was observed as follows:

> John, who has sat passively and extremely quietly throughout the lesson all of a sudden stands up at the rear of the group and calls to Mrs. Cavan, "Call on me." The tone of his voice somewhat desparate as he sought to have the teacher select him for the question. Mrs. Cavan, however, ignores John's request and replies, "John, sit down. I cannot call on anyone who shouts out in class." John slumps back to the floor and turns so his back is to the speech teacher. He does not say a word for the rest of the lesson. (10/19/67)

This attempt by John to establish interaction with Mrs. Cavan was the first attempt during any observation period to date that he had called out to either of the teachers, Mrs. Caplow or Mrs. Cavan. As John sat with his back to the teacher, Robert came and joined him. The two then sat in the same manner until Mrs. Cavan had left the room. As Mrs. Cavan was about to leave, she went to Mrs. Caplow and spelled out the question, "I-s R-o-b-e-r-t s-l-o-w?" Mrs. Caplow replied, "Oh, I don't think so. I believe that he is just shy." Mrs. Cavan responded, I thought maybe he was having problems." Mrs. Cavan was about to leave, having said "goodbye" to the children and having had them say a single "goodbye" to her. Two of the children at Table 1 at the last moment before she was to leave called out, "Goodbye, Mrs. Cavan." She turned back to the children and with a harsh rebuke said, "You have already said goodbye to me. Now be quiet." She then left the room.

This last incident is illustrative of the dilemma in which the children from Table 1 found themselves. With Mrs. Caplow, they had been the "center of attraction" and had received both supportive encouragement and a good deal of her teaching time. With Mrs. Cavan, however, they were not given any preferential treatment. In fact, the more they attempted to participate as they did with Mrs. Caplow, the more they were rebuked by Mrs. Cavan. Thus they experienced inconsistency in how the two teachers treated them. In one context,their behavior was rewarded and encouraged, in another it was rebuked and repressed. As became increasingly clear with time, the children at Table 1 adopted the same behavioral patterns as did those at Table 2 and 3 when Mrs. Cavan was in the room. They merely sat passively and did not participate. Thus the entire class became a quiet and non-assertive group of children with the speech teacher.

October 24:

On each of the grade levels through the elementary school years, the teachers are provided with a curriculum guide. In 1967, the St. Louis Social Studies Curriculum Guide stated that the purpose of social studies within the kindergarten class was as follows: "The aim of the social studies curriculum is to develop in the individual the attitudes, values, understanding, and skills necessary for the perpetuation and improvement of our democratic society and for the promotion of peaceful human relations throughout the world." One of the suggestions within the guide for the teacher as a means to further the child's knowledge of "other people and other lands:" is for the teacher to plan activities related to the observance of United Nations Day. Such activities are encouraged in order that the child gain "knowledge of the contributions of ethnic groups and nations to the world culture." (St. Louis Curriculum Guide, 1967). Mrs. Caplow, on the 24th of October planned an observance of United Nations Day. The main activity of the observance was to be the construction by each child of a flag representative of any member nation in the United Nations.

As was the case with the introduction of Fire Prevention Week to the class, Mrs. Caplow again utilized Laura as her "showcase" child through which the remainder of the children in the class were humiliated.

> "If anyone knows what special day today is, raise their hand." Mary raises her hand and Mrs. Caplow calls on her. Mary says, "It cloudy." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Well, yes it is cloudy today, but that is not what I asked for. Why is today a special day?" Joe raises his hand and he is called upon. He says, "It windy." Mrs. Caplow responds, "No, that does not make it a special day." Marcia is called on next. She says, "It cloudy." Mrs. Caplow replies, "No, that doesn't make it a special day." Virginia is selected next and she states that it is a "hot day." Mrs. Caplow repeats her statement, "No, that does not make it a special day. Laura will you come and tell the children what special day it is today. Come and stand by me and tell the children what special day it is today. Come and stand by me and tell the children what day today is. Ellen, will you please be quiet so all the class can hear Laura. Laura, come here and face the class." Laura stands beside Mrs. Caplow, faces the class and says. "Today is United Nations day." (10/24/67)

Mary was then asked why the class should celebrate the United Nations Day and she replied, "'cause they work for peace." Mrs. Caplow responded, "Yes, we will make flags to celebrate United Nations Day." Shortly thereafter, while the children were involved in a "number readiness" exercise, Mrs. Caplow came to where I was seated and explained that she would like for the children to make the flags in order to "let them work with shapes."

During the "number readiness" exercises, Mrs. Caplow also prepared the materials that the children would use to make their flag. She then demonstrated how one could cut out various shapes for the flag including stripes, stars and rectangles. She also explained how to attach the handle to the flag and then told them to begin. Though the children at Table 1 began immediately, several of the children at the remaining two tables were quite hesitant to begin their flag. Two children, John and Lilly, did not begin until nearly half of the remainder of the students in the class were finished. As the children would finish their flag, they would go to show it to Mrs. Caplow. They then came and showed their flag to me. As each child came, I asked what the name was of his particular flag.

To indicate that the children at all three tables were uncertain as to what flag they were to make, several of the names given to the flags by the children are listed by table. Table 1: Our Country Flag; Star Spangled Flag: Right Flag; United American Flag; United Nations Day. Table 2: United Steak in American Flag; Our Flag; Airplane Flag; United States Flag. Table 3: American Flag; "H" Flag; United Story in American Flag; State Spangled Banner Flag; a Girl Flag; Knighted Nation Flag; United Station Flag; My Flag. The confusion of the children may, in part, have been due to the fact that the teacher never stated where or what the United Nations was. The only definition of the United Nations was given by Mary when she indicated that "they work for peace." The only flag with which the children had had experience was the American Flag. Thus when they were asked to make a flag of an undefined entity, they resorted, for the most part, to making flags in the motif of the American flag.

As was to be done on several other occasions during the school year (Halloween, "Indian" day, and "spring flower" day), Mrs. Caplow had the children parade through several of the other rooms on the first floor. This was done ostensibly to allow the older children to see what the kindergarten children had made. Some of the children, however, were not able to carry their flags as Mrs. Caplow had passed out two drums, a tambourine, three sets of musical sticks and one set of cymbals.

> Mrs. Caplow has the children line up in pairs. Those with the musical instruments are at the front. After all the children are in line, she puts "My Country Tis of Thee" on the record player. Frank exclaims that it is a church song, but Mrs. Caplow corrects him and gives him the correct title. Three other children, when they hear the song, put down their flags and put their left hand over their heart. After the playing of "My Country Tis of Thee," Mrs. Caplow then plays the National Anthem. She has the children hold their flag above their head. Mrs. Caplow says to Laura, "Laura, suppose that you be the leader of our class to the different rooms." Frank calls out, "But I want to be the leader." Laura responds, "You not gonna be the leader, boy, I am." (10/24/67)

When the National Anthem ended Mrs. Caplow put on a long playing album of military marching songs and had the children march through three of the rooms on the first floor. In each of the rooms that the class visited, Laura gave a short talk explaining why they were visiting other classes in the school. She stated that "Today is United Nations Day. It is a special day." As the children returned to the class, the marching music was still playing. Mrs. Caplow instructed the children to march by their desks, lay down their flags and then march to the rest room. She stood by the record player clapping her hands to keep time with the music.

Though the division in the kindergarten class according to tables was the predominant factor of social organization in the classroom, there sporadically appeared among the children an organization based upon sex differences. That is, at times, the sex of the participants overrode the seating arrangement, and in-group versus out-group boundaries emerged separating the boys from the girls. During recess and play time within the classroom, the boys often played together, regardless of their seating arrangement, as did the girls. During these periods of unstructured activity, the boys also oriented their behavior almost entirely towards other members of the group. The girls, on the other hand, often sought to establish interaction with the teacher, Mrs. Caplow. The boys appeared often to have sought male solidarity among their peers while the girls appeared to have sought solidarity with the teacher.

The internal structure of the group of girls was not nearly so defined, nor did all the girls participate en mass in a single activity as often as did the boys. Also, certain activities of the class were clearly based upon sex differentials. Girls as a group always went first in lines, always went to the coat room first, and also received affectionate names from the teacher (honey, sweetie, dear, etc.) which were not directed towards the boys. For the boys in the room, there was no one near to them with whom they could identify on the basis of sex. The principal was seen only seldomly and no other male came to the room except the custodian. Neither of these two men had interaction of any significance with the boys. Thus, for the development of a masculine self-image, they sought out one another, as no other male was available (cf. Jackson, 1968). For the girls, on the other hand, the presence of the teacher in the room provided an adult female figure with whom they could associate and from whom was occasionally dispensed special favors to them because of their being girls. When the criteria of sex became most salient to the teacher, a girl from Table 3 could expect more preferential treatment than a boy from Table 1.

In his discussion of the pervasive atmosphere of feminism in the elementary school, Jackson (1968) notes that boys respond to this atmosphere of feminism with increased male solidarity and violation of the institutional norms primarily enforced by females. Girls respond to the atmosphere of the school more positively because of their occasional preferential treatment and the number of adult females with whom they can identify and interact. In an attempt to operationalize Jackson's description of the dissimilar response of boys and girls to the institutional norms and routines of the class, and to determine if such a response could be found within the kindergarten classroom after eight weeks of school, note was made of all rebukes, answers requested by the teacher and nonsolicited responses to questions of the teacher. The first criterion was chosen to determine if the teacher perceived that the boys in class did, in fact, ignore or disobey her rules of classroom behavior to the degree of requiring a reprimand. The second criteria was selected to determine if the teacher solicited answers from the girls more frequently than she did from the boys. The third was thought to be a measure of the boys' attempts to engage in interaction with the teacher on a spontaneous basis. This was assumed to be an indicator of the degree to which they felt open to seek the attention of the teacher outside the formal structure of the class routine. Table 6.2 details the tabulations from three observational periods, two during the eighth week of school and one during the ninth.

Though the number of observational periods is quite small and the total time length is less than four hours, there yet appear to be several trends that bear mentioning. Jackson's contention that boys received a significantly higher number of reprimands than do girls is given some support by this data. The boys were reprimanded at a rate more than three times as great as were the girls. The ratio during the three periods varied from twice to ten times greater for the boys than the girls.

Secondly, the teacher asked questions of the girls somewhat more often than she did of the boys (boys - twelve; girls - eighteen) and the girls responded correctly in all instances but one. For the boys, however, one-third of all solicited answers given to the teacher were incorrect. Such a pattern of response would appear to reinforce the teacher's calling on the girls, for her possibilities were much greater that a correct answer would be received. If one called on a boy, on the other hand, the possibility of receiving the correct answer was not nearly so predictable.

A more striking phenomenon was the rate at which the boys in the class gave unsolicited answers to the teacher. The boys gave the teacher eighteen such answers, thirteen of which were correct. The girls gave fewer than one-third as many unsolicited answers and all were correct but one. Though any explanation of this lopsided manner in which the children attempted to offer answers to the teacher would be tenuous at

Table 6:2. Reprimands, Requested Responses and Unrequested Responses In the Kindergarten Classroom by Sex during Three Observational Periods in the Eighth and Ninth Weeks of School.

		OCT. 17	OCT. 19	OCT. 24	TOTALS
Reprimands by Teacher:		B--11 G--3	B--27 G--14	B--20 G--2	B = 58 G = 19
Responses given by children when solicited by the teacher:	Correct:	B--6 G--4	B--1 G--7	B--1 G--6	B = 8 G = 17
	Incorrect:	B--3 G--0	B--0 G--0	B--1 G--1	B = 4 G = 1
Responses given by the children when not solicited by the teacher:	Correct:	B--5 G--2	B--8 G--2	B--0 G--0	B = 13 G = 4
	Incorrect:	B--2 G--0	B--2 G--0	B--1 G--1	B = 5 G= 1

Note: The total time from the three observational periods equaled three hours, fourty-five minutes.

best, there do appear to be at least two important considerations. The unsolicited responses of the boys may have resulted from their perception that they were not being given equal chance to participate within the framework of the established lesson routine. Thus, in order to demonstrate that they did know the answers they responded without being called upon. As a second alternative, the boys may have given the high number of unsolicited responses as a means to thwart the established routine and control of a woman. Each time that an answer was given without being asked for, the discretion was removed from the teacher as to whom she could call on for the answer. If a boy did not wish for the teacher to give the girls most of the questions (and attention) he could simply answer them first, thereby causing both a disruption of the class and the necessity of the teacher directing her attention to the disruptive boy.

October 26:

On October 26, several days before Halloween, the teacher devoted a good deal of attention to the activities of Halloween and the children's visible growing excitement about it. During the morning Mrs. Cavan also visited the room and taught her sixth speech lesson to the children. Through these various activities, there were present several patterns of interaction between the teacher and the class that had been evident for many weeks.

As noted previously, Mrs. Caplow often concentrated her teaching attention almost exclusively on the children at Table 1. Only occasionally did she ask questions of those children at the other two tables.

During one instance when she did directly ask a question of a Table 2 student, the interaction still reverted to the teacher and a student at Table 1.

> Mrs. Caplow asks Mike, "Mike you put up the weather symbol this morning. Can you tell us what it means?"(She is referring to a piece of gray construction paper cut in the shape of a cloud which Mike had tacked on the calendar under today's date.) Mike answers, "It cloudy outside." Laura then calls out, "It chilly outside too." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Well, it is not really that cold outside today, Laura." She then has the children count the number of days in the month. (10/26/67)

In this interchange between Mike, Laura, and Mrs. Caplow, the correct response given by Mike to a question from the teacher was ignored in order that the teacher could respond to the unsolicited response of Laura. The answer that was sought from a student at Table 2 was ignored while that which was basically an interruption from a student at Table 1 was accepted and commented upon by the teacher.

Additional evidence of the dichotomy between the Table 1 students and the remainder of the class was the continued closeness of the Table 1 group to the teacher during the morning opening exercises. Frank was noted as having "scooted up so close to Mrs. Caplow that he is practically sitting in her lap." Laura and Mary were also very close by. At the other extreme, Fred, Karen, John, Robert, Lilly and Brad (all Table 3) were noted as being at the very periphery of the group with six to eight feet between themselves and the teacher. Later in the morning when Mrs. Caplow gave each of the children their name tags in preparation for the arrival of Mrs. Cavan, the children from the first table began to congregate at the piano. They had received no direction from Mrs. Caplow to do so and apparently simply moved to the piano on their own discretion. There were five children from the first table at the piano, the remainder had not yet had their name called by the teacher.

> Sandy, from Table 3, is called by Mrs. Caplow to come to the desk for her name tag. After she has her tag, she begins to walk towards the piano to join the five children already standing there. Mrs. Caplow calls to Sandy in a very harsh voice, "Sandy, sit down. Sit down, Sandy. Do not go over there." Sandy then goes back to her seat and sits down. No comment is made to the five children at the piano that they also should go to their seats and sit down. They continued to stand by the piano. (10/26/67)

In a very literal sense, the teacher was informing a child from Table 3 that she was not to infringe on the "territory" of the Table 1 children. The reverse, however, was tolerated.

Frank received a reprimand from the teacher for attempting to put Art in a "head-lock." Mrs. Caplow spoke rather firmly to Frank and informed him that she did not like him "spoiling the room." Immediately upon receiving this reprimand from the teacher, Frank moved back to the edge of the semicircle where Mrs. Caplow had seated the children. He then sat at the rear of the group with John and Fred during the entire thirty-five minutes that Mrs. Cavan was in the room. This was the first documentation of Frank at the periphery of the group in ten weeks of school. Franks' movement to the periphery suggests that the periphery location in relation to the rest of the group may not only have served as the permanent position of several of the Table 2 and 3 students, but also as the locus of withdrawl from anxiety-prone situations for Table 1 students. When faced with unanticipated behavior from the teacher that resulted in a rebuke, the child may have moved to the periphery to increase the distance between himself and the teacher,thus decreasing anxiety. (For an extensive discussion of the relation of proximity to anxiety and surface behavior, see Redl and Wineman, 1952.)

October 27:

The major substantive area that the teacher sought to introduce to the children after the long unit on the school was that of the family. The introductory lesson in this unit was not observed, but hints of what was discussed were evident during the second lesson on the topic.

> Mrs. Caplow begins, "Now, children, yesterday we began to talk about the family. Don, can you tell us who we said were the members of the family?" Don replies, "My mother and my sisters." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Yes, the mother, father, brothers, sisters, and even pets make up our family." (10/27/67)

In this instance, the response of the child is distorted to incorporate the teacher's desire to inform the children that the family is not merely the mother and the children (though such is the case for nineteen of the children), but that it also includes the father, brother and pets.

Within this same discussion of family size and who were the various members of the family, there was observed the single instance during the entire school year in which the children were able to ask personal questions of the teacher and receive replies. The probing of the teacher was done by a boy from Table 1.

> Joe asks Mrs. Caplow, "Mrs. Caplow, do you have any kids?" Mrs. Caplow responds, "No, I don't, Joe." Joe: "Why not?" Mrs. Caplow: "I just don't." Joe: "Well, do you love kids?" Mrs. Caplow: "Oh, yes, I love children." Joe: "Well, do you love us?"

> Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, Joe, I love all of you." Joe: "Would you like to have some children?" Mrs. Caplow, "Yes, I would Joe." Mary calls out, "Take me, my mother don't want me anyway." Laura also says, "Take me, too." Joe and Marcia also asked to be taken to Mrs. Caplow's house. She responds to the children in a pleasant manner: "No, boys and girls, if I did that, what would your mothers think?" This ends the conversation and Mrs. Caplow then introduces the movie. (10/27/67)

Though Mrs. Caplow indicated earlier to the children that the family consisted of both parents, children and pets, she then showed them a movie that features only a mother bear and two cubs. The continual emphasis throughout the movie was on the loving care that the mother gave the cubs and how it was the duty of the mother to protect the cubs from the gruff and dangerous father. The last frame of the movie stated, "The mother bear had done a good job. Now her two cubs are on their own." The only male in the film was the father who at one point said that he wanted to eat the children. The mother bear then had to fight away the father from the cubs.

As one aspect of the discussion of the family, Mrs. Caplow discussed with the children the different kinds of foods that a family eats ("baby food," "children food," and "grown-up food"). The children were asked to give examples of each of the three types of foods and all of their responses were of a similar nature. Mentioned repeatedly were greens, jello, candy, kool-ade, cornbread, beans, grits, and potato chips. Mrs. Caplow then called attention to new posters that she had put on the bulletin board for the children to see. There were five pictures listed under the heading of "THE GOOD BREAKFAST FOODS." All five pictures showed a white mother and her child. The first picture showed the mother feeding the child a large platter of sliced ham and fried eggs. The second showed both drinking a tall glass of orange juice. The third was of the mother serving the child a ham casserole. The child was eating a bowl of breakfast food that was smothered in strawberries in the fourth picture, and the last showed both mother and child drinking milk. What may be termed the "irony of nutrition" is evident. If the above responses of the children can be taken as even partly reliable, one would suspect that the posters show foods that were seldom if ever tasted by the majority of children in that class. The image of the ideal established by the teacher appeared far removed from the reality of experience for the children.

October 31:

On October 31, the class had a Halloween party. Mrs. Caplow asked two mothers, both of whose children sat at Table 1, to help assist her with the party. In the time period before the morning recess, these two mothers arranged one-half of the room for the party while Mrs. Caplow taught the children in the other.

During the teaching lesson, there occurred an interactional pattern between the teacher and several of the children that had not been observed previously. This involved the teacher issuing contradictory commands to the children resulting in confusion of response.

> Art walks up to the blackboard to look at the calendar. Mrs. Caplow says to Art, "Art, you are spoiling our room. Go and sit down." He does. She then instructs Marcia to "stand straight." She turns back to Art and says, "Art, why are you sitting down, you are supposed to be standing with the rest of the children. Now get up." He at first hesitates and then slowly rises out of the chair. He does not stand straight. (10/31/67)

A second form of contradictory response observed during the teaching period prior to recess involved the children giving, en masse, directly contradictory responses to the teacher. What appeared to occur was blind and disjointed hand-raising in response to questions that the children perceived as calling for a unanimous show of hands. Mrs. Caplow had just begun to carve a pumpkin into a jack-o-lantern, and she asked the children if they had ever had pumpkin pie. All the children raised their hand indicating that they had had pumpkin pie. She then instructed the children to put their hands down and asked that all those children who had not ever had pumpkin pie to raise their hand. Again all the children in the class raised their hands. Mrs. Caplow comments, "Okay, I guess I will have to make it sometime." She then tells the children to put their hands back down.

Though Mrs. Caplow had told the children that she would like for them to come to class on Halloween in a costume, only eleven of the thirty children did so. Of these eleven costumed children, six sat at Table 1, three at Table 2 and two at Table 3. Three of the costumes were store-bought, all worn by children at Table 1. Laura and Mary both wore Cinderella costumes. Each carried a wand, wore a ballerina-type dress and had a face mask that was white with golden hair. Frank wore a costume of superman, but did not have a face mask. Several other of the children did wear face masks, but no costume. Thus, with the five children who did wear a face mask plus the eleven who wore costumes, there were sixteen of the thirty children with some type of disguise. After the recess the children were served hot dogs, potato chips, milk, ice cream and cookies. They then paraded through all the rooms on the first floor of the building and three of the rooms on the second floor.

November 1:

Two incidents occurred which I believe give strong indication of the mechanism of control and discipline that Mrs. Caplow most often utilized within the class. The kindergarten classroom was not a place where the children were subjected to continual physical punishment. Mrs. Caplow most often was quite pleasant with the children and raised her voice only occasionally. The atmosphere of the room did not appear to be one of continual anxiety on the part of the children due to fear of teacher punishment or ridicule. The children were allowed periods of free play when they could roam through the room at will, exploring the book table, the science table and also looking at the fish and turtles that Mrs. Caplow kept in the room. She did not appear to be a harsh and demanding disciplinarian with the children. Rather than resorting to physical punishment in a real or threatened manner, or constantly seeking to dominate the children through restrictive class procedures, she would utilize techniques of subtle class embarrassment and individual guilt feelings as mechanisms for controlling the children. Methods of instilling conformity in the children as to what she expected from each of them seldom involved other than the spoken word.

> The children and Mrs. Caplow begin to sing the "Good Morning to You" song which is part of the opening exercise. Mike is singing in a high falsetto apparently attempting to mimic one of the girls nearby. When the group has finished, Mrs. Caplow calls on Mike and asks if he would like to sing the song again for the entire class by himself. He makes no response and bows his head. Mrs. Caplow then has the class sing the song again and Mike uses his normal voice. (11/1/67)

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The simple question of asking the child whether he wished to perform solo in front of the group was sufficient to ensure that he would not do it again. The threat of embarrassment in front of one's peers may have proved more effective to suppress the undesired behavior than strong physical punishment.

A second mechanism, but highly similar to the first, was the technique of calling for an answer from a child who had not been paying attention. The mere silence of not being able to respond with the teacher deliberately waiting an additionally long period of time for the answer, proved continually successful in ensuring the attention of the class during teaching periods. The extreme form of this technique was to call the child to the blackboard and ask for the correct answer. At this point the child was in full view of the entire class as he stood unable to comply with the request of the teacher. The teacher appeared to rely extensively upon "psychological" considerations in her attempts to instill class routines and conformity to expectations of classroom behavior in the children.

Her control of the surface behavior of the children within the class appeared to be based upon a belief that there were alternative methods to ensure discipline other than physical force. During one informal discussion, the teacher indicated that she had received a Master of Arts degree from a large midwestern state university and that she had completed thirty graduate hours beyond the master's level. She stated that her major academic interest was early childhood education and that she was particularly interested in studying techniques one could use to help children to "adjust" to the classroom. She stated that she attempted to use an "enlightened" approach in her management of the classroom, based upon her study of child psychology. From the many observations of the classroom, it appeared that she did in fact attempt to control the class by mechanisms that utilized individual guilt feelings, peer embarrassment, feelings of group solidarity, threatened isolation from the rest of the class and withdrawal of her approval and affection. There did not appear to be, although strict tabulation was not made, any difference in the amount of physical punishment directed towards children at the three different tables. It occurred too infrequently to warrant a continual updating and tabulation over time.

As this chapter has attempted to demonstrate, however, the teacher did not distribute differential behavior oriented towards reward and support with the same level of equalization as she did physical punishment. Though her use of force was minimal and non-discriminatory, her use of rewards and reliance on certain children for responses appeared quite discriminatory. During the period of "show and tell" after the morning opening exercises, Mrs. Caplow informed the class that everyone would have an opportunity to tell of their adventures the previous Halloween evening. In reality, she called upon six children to come to the front and tell of their activiries; five of the children sat at Table 1 and the sixth sat at Table 2. No other children were given an opportunity to relate to the class what they had done the previous evening.

November 6:

As noted, the teacher had begun in the first days of November a unit on the family and family activities. Further discussion of the family by the teacher was noted on November 6.

> Mrs. Caplow is seated by the flannel board. She has placed a picture of a young blond white girl washing dishes on it. She speaks to the class, "Now, boys and girls, you see the picture of this little girl. She is helping her mother by doing the dishes. I think that all of us boys and girls should help our parents by doing chores around the house. All people in the family need to help and work together." Laura says, "I have to clean my own room." Mrs. Caplow responds, "That's nice Laura." She then goes on to explain to the class that they have bought two white mice to do a study on the effect of food. She tells the class that one mouse will be fed each day while the other will be fed only once every third day. Then the children will be able to watch the two mice play in their cage and see how the mouse that has no food does not play as much as does the mouse with food. She tells the children that "healthy food makes for a healthy body." (11/6/67)

The lesson also incorporated certain ideals presented by the teacher that appeared to be outside the life-experiences of the children. In both short lessons within this discussion of the family, the children did not respond to questions from the teacher in the manner that she apparently had hoped. They responded from their own perceptions, but these were not congruent with what the teacher had anticipated.

> "Did you boys and girls know that our bodies are a lot like a car? What does a car need that we need?" Joe responds, "A motor." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, we need a motor, but what makes the motor run?" Laura says, "A key." Mrs. Caplow repeats the question, "But what makes the motor run?" The children make no response, and Mrs. Caplow finally says, "Gasoline." The children say nothing. She then continues, "We need gas just like the car needs gas because the car needs gas to make the motor run. So we need food for ourselves." (11/6/67)

The second instance within the family lesson where the material presented by the teacher was apparently interpreted by the children in a manner quite different from what I believe she had desired concerned a black family shown in a picture eating a meal. They were seated at a large table covered with a table cloth, and were using fine china and glassware. They had large bowls of salad, vegetables, and potatoes as well as a large steak before them.

> Mrs. Caplow puts the picture on the flannel board. She states, "Now this family is eating a meal. Say 'meal,' class." The class repeats, "meal." She continues, "Who do you think this guy is here in the picture?" One of the boys responds, "Daddy." She says, "Yes, but we call him father. This is the father, this is the mother, this is the sister, this is the older brother and this is the younger brother. Marcia, what do you believe they are having for dinner?" Marcia answers, "Syrup, jello and greens." Mrs. Caplow completely ignores this response of the child and then asks Joe, "What is this little girl going to do?" (She is lifting a napkin towards her face.) Joe responds, "She gonna blow her nose." Mrs. Caplow becomes quite irritated with Joe and says, "No, Joe, she is going to place the napkin in her lap so that she does not soil her nice clothes if she happens to drop food in her lap." The children sit completely still and look quite confused. The room is totally quiet. Mrs. Caplow then changes the subject.

Concurrent with the unit on the family, Mrs. Caplow introduced the children to activities and ideas related to Thanksgiving. In place of the witch beside the piano, she substituted a pilgrim woman made out of paper mache and painted with a white face and golden blond hair. This pilgrim was approximately five feet in height. There were several posters on the boards in the room and there was also a large picture of a turkey above the blackboard. When Thanksgiving was yet three weeks away, she would often have very short lessons on it. On one occasion she drew a picture of a pilgrim face on the blackboard. It was the face of a small boy.

> She asks the class, "Who is this boy?" Art says, "A cowboy." She responds, "Well, who wears black hats?" Frank says, "Cowboys." Another boy, Rich, says, "Indians." Joe says, "Old people." Marcia offers, "Farmers." Mrs. Caplow replies, "No, no, boys and girls, this boy's name begins with the peter puffer sound." Frank suggests, "Peter." Mrs. Caplow, "No, they are pilgrims. Now all of you say pilgrims." The children do. She then drops the lesson and passes out crayons to the class.

The element of religion was introduced into the activities of the class quite frequently by Mrs. Caplow. The morning prayer at the beginning of the school year, praying before food was served at the class parties, and many less specific, but nevertheless religiously oriented remarks by her were all based in her belief in Christianity. When asked about the role that religion had played in her life and what influence religion had on the lives of the children in her class she responded:

> I believe that religion played a strong part--a very fundamental part in our family. My mother is a devout person. She kept us in Sunday school and church. Those of us in the city still attend the same church. Religion has played a big part in our upbringing. It seems to be lacking in children today. They don't seem to have the same spiritual values anymore. Now they have more things to take their interest. The church used to be the center of activities. Now there is a thousand and one things to do, I guess. (2/23/68)

Religion and religious centered activities often appeared to have a central role in Mrs. Caplow's discussion of major school holidays. The three holidays in particular that were the basis for much religious discussion in the class were Thanksgiving, Christmas and Easter. At each of these, she spoke quite frankly with the children concerning her understanding of these events and the initial reason for their celebration. It appeared that sometimes she introduced religious material into the lesson when it may not have been necessary.

> Mrs. Caplow is seated on the piano bench next to the pilgrim woman. She asks the class, "Boys and girls, what does the pilgrim woman seem to be doing?" Laura says, "She prayin'." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Yes, she is giving thanks for all that she has been blessed with. Okay, now all of you fold your hands and we will pray just like the pilgrim for all the blessings that we have received." Mrs. Caplow also folds her hands and then recites, "Thank you for the food we eat, thank you for the world so sweet, thank you for the birds that sing, thank you Lord, for everything." After saying this verse, she sings it for the children. She then asks the children to say each line after her, which they do. (11/6/67)

November 9:

On this date, Mrs. Caplow introduced what she termed "creative dramatics" into the class activities. The lesson was to focus on both the activities of the family members at meal time and also the type of foods that the family should eat. The lesson began with Mrs. Caplow again showing the children the picture of the black family seated at a table with fine china, glasswear and linens.

> Mrs. Caplow calls on Marcia to describe what the family in the picture is doing. Marcia replied, "They eatin'." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, they are eating. What do you think they are eating?" Frank: "Breakfast." Mrs. Caplow: "Oh, do you think so, Frank?" Joe calls out, "Supper." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, thay are eating dinner. Dinner is the same as supper. How did the food come to the house? Where did they get their food to eat?" Rich says, "From the ground." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, it grows in the ground, but then where does it go?" Frank: "To the store." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, who usually goes to the store and buys the food for your house?" Cathy says, "My mama." Mrs. Caplow" Well who does the cooking in your house?" Mary says, "My mama." Frank interrupts, "But my daddy always do the bar-b-quen'." Mrs. Caplow: "Oh, does he? That is very nice." Mike calls out, "My daddy works so he can't be no cook." Mrs. Caplow: "That is a very good point, Mike. Father has to work so he can bring home the money that the family needs for food." (11/9/67)

In this first part of the lesson, it is evident that Mrs. Caplow accepts the unit of the family as consisting of both parents plus children. This is also accepted by some members of the class who have both a father and mother in their home. For nineteen of the thirty children, however, there is no father to bring home money for food.

Mrs. Caplow then brought a small white table and four small white chairs into the center of the room. She also brought a piece of red burlap and laid it still folded on the table. She asked who could "be a good mother?" All of the girls raised their hands in response to this question, and Mrs. Caplow said, "We will try Laura for the mother and Don for the father." The boys were not asked who wished to be the father. Mary asked to be the grandmother, but Mrs. Caplow indicated that this family did not have a grandmother. She did select Mary to be the daughter and Art as the son. She asked this group of four students to come into the center of the room.

> She hands Laura the red burlap and asks, "What do we call this, Laura?" Laura responds, "A table cloth." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, we should always use a table cloth when we eat. Okay, now the rest of you boys and girls sit and be quiet and watch Laura begin to prepare the supper." Laura asks, "What am I supposed to do?" Mrs. Caplow: "I want you to do what your mother does at home. What would the son, daughter and father do while you were fixing supper?" Laura: "I don't know." Mrs. Caplow: "Well, Laura, what are you doing?" Laura: "I don't know." Mrs. Caplow: "What does your mother serve for supper?" Laura: "Greens and jello." Mrs. Caplow: "Oh, well, I suppose that's alright." Mrs. Caplow seemed taken back by this response of Laura. It appeared that she desired a response more similar to that of the family pictured eating mashed potatoes, green beans and steak. (11/9/67)

Mrs. Caplow at this point turned her attention to Don and Art, who were to be the father and son.

> Mrs. Caplow asks Don,"Don, what should the father do before he reads the paper?" Don: "He should ask if supper is ready." Mrs. Caplow: "Well ask her." Don does and Laura responds, "No." Mike calls from where he is seated, "When my daddy come home from work, he kiss my mama." Mrs. Caplow: "Yes, Mike. When most fathers do come home from work,they kiss their wives. Okay, now Laura, call your family to the dinner table." Laura: "Dinner ready." Susan from where she is seated asks, "If they gonna eat, ain't they suppose to wash their hands?" Mrs. Caplow: "Well since we are only pretending and not really eating, we won't wash our hands." Mrs. Caplow then instructs the four seated at the small white table that they are to "Talk as a family talks at the dinner table." Art, who has said very little, is told by Mrs. Caplow to go back to his seat. "I think we will have Joe as the new son. Art, you go and sit down. Joe, you seem to know what a son is supposed to do. You come and take Art's place." Joe then comes to the table and immediately says, to Don, "Hey ol' man, what you do at work today?" Don says, "I ain't do nothin'." Mrs. Caplow looks in amazement at the two boys and says, "What are you two talking about? Dinner time is the time for the family to enjoy each other and also enjoy their meal. Now talk in a pleasant manner to each other." While the four in the center of the room sit silent, Mrs. Caplow turns to the children seated at their desks and asks, "How many of you eat your meals with your mother and father?" All the children raise their hand. Susan calls out, "I got no daddy, but I eat with him anyway." Mrs. Caplow then instructs all the children to line up for the restroom. (11/9/67)

During this caper on the family, I believe that Mrs. Caplow demonstrated such a strong orientation to the concept of a middle class family with proper manners and "table talk" that any deviation from this norm simply was not accepted. With Laura, there very well could have been the acceptance of her statement of what her family ate for supper by saying that Laura "Had better hurry and get the greens on the stove because they will take a while to cook." Instead, there was only a vacant acceptance which appeared to carry a secondary meaning to the child that what she ate at home really was not acceptable, but it would do. As a second example, when Mrs. Caplow replaced Art with Joe, she substituted for a welfare child (who had no father in the home with whom he could converse) a boy from Table 1 who came from a home with both a mother and father. Art was being penalized not only for not being able to converse in "table talk" with an imaginary father, but more fundamentally because he did not have the experience which could have made him acceptable in the role. The very act of asking Art to sit and converse with Don, an imaginary father, was an incongruity, for it was requesting behavior that was not part of his previous experience.

As a final indication of Mrs. Caplow's strong emphasis upon certain behavioral and verbal mannerisms during the skit, she did not call on Joe and Don to continue the single apparent creative and realistic exchange during the entire time the children were at the table. Both the question of Joe and the response of Don arose out of their previous experience and may be assumed to be somewhat similar to what they have frequently observed in their own homes. The language was not in standard American English and did not deal with the facets of an exciting job, but with the boredom of doing "nothin'." It appears that the teacher and the majority of the children were speaking and acting from dissimilar values and experiences as to what constituted the family and its activities.

November 21:

In chapter 111 on the St. Louis School System, it was noted that the training of the apprentice teachers from Harris Teachers College takes place in the public schools. Each of the apprentices spend ten weeks in two different schools. Within each of the schools, five two-week sessions are to be divided among various grades in the school.

In the kindergarten class of Mrs. Caplow there was during the last two weeks of November an apprentice, Miss Phillips. It so happened that the next to last day of Miss Phillips' presence in the room was also to be the last day of the unit on the family. Mrs. Caplow had scheduled a film as part of the final discussion. She suggested that Miss Phillips conduct the part of the family lesson dealing with the film and the discussion afterwards with the children. The notes pick up where Miss Phillips begins the introduction of the film.

> Miss Phillips comes to the front of the class and speaks in a very soft and hushed voice. "Now, boys and girls, you have been talking about your family. You have been talking about your parents. Sometimes your parents tell us things for our own good, even though we don't understand them. Today we are going to have a film about a mother goat who told her little boys and girls things to do. They did not obey her so we will watch the film and see what happens to baby goats when they do not listen to what their mother tells them to do." Joe calls out, "If they don't listen, they get a whuppin'." Miss Phillips responds, "Yes, that is right. We have to obey our parents. The name of the film is "The Wolf and the Seven Kids." Now all of you will have to be quiet or you will not be able to hear the film. Kids are really baby goats so we could call this film 'The Wolf and Seven Baby Goats'." Susan at this point leaves the group and goes into the bathroom. Mrs. Caplow stands at the back of the room by the projector while Miss Phillips stands near the front of the group to the right side. (11/21/67)

The film of the 'Wolf and the Seven Baby Kids" was taken directly from the nursery tale. The films (and the tale) concern a mother goat who told her seven kids to be very careful of a wolf who lurked in the woods waiting to eat baby goats. The mother, who had to leave the home, warned the children not to open the door for anyone. The wolf after trying a number of deceptive disguises, finally is admitted to the home. The frame of the film that showed the wolf entering the home had a caption at the bottom: "The wicked wolf rushed in. Look how all the babies ran to hide." Several frames later the wolf was shown with a bloated stomach from having eaten all the baby goats but one. The mother returns to find only one of her babies left and suggests that that they go into the woods for a walk to "forget their sadness." In the woods they find the sleeping wolf. The mother goat then performs a caesarian operation on the wolf and the six baby goats jump out alive. The mother and the babies then fill the stomach of the wolf with rocks. When the wolf wakes, he goes for a drink at the well, is pushed in by the mother goat and drowns. When the film ends, Miss Phillips comes to the front of the class.

> "Now that is all of the story, boys and girls. Do you see what will happen to you when you don't listen to what your mother and father tell you?" The children appear frightened by what Miss Phillips has said and are very quiet. Mrs. Caplow then informs the class that they are now finished with their study of the family and that they can color a picture of their own family until it is time for recess. (11/21/67)

As I was then about to leave the room, Mrs. Caplow gave me data on the attendance of the children during the first twelve weeks of school. There had been five children in the class who had missed six or more days of school. The group consisted of three boys and two girls, four of whom were from families on public welfare and three of whom sat at Table 3. No one from Table 1 was absent six or more days during the first twelve weeks.

11. WINTER

With the coming of the cold and slush, the outdoor activities at the school are curtailed to a minimum. The children often miss days of school due to colds and flu. With Halloween and Thanksgiving past, the teachers and children begin to turn their attention towards Christmas. There is the expected change in posters and bulletin board displays, the children color Christmas trees instead of jack-o-lanterns or turkeys, and the teachers work towards preparing Christmas programs or parties for the students and parents. At Attucks School, the relaxed and casual atmosphere of the teacher's lounge appeared to have been replaced by a quiet fatigue. Perhaps the tension and weariness of the teachers as well as that of the children from weeks of the same schedule was best portrayed in the penultimate rehearsal of the kindergarten class of The Christmas Carol for the Parent-Teacher meeting the following night.

"It's Christmas Time"

As I walked into the kindergarten classroom, several of the children were trying to sing "God Bless Ye, Merry Gentlemen." When the group was approximately half-way through the first verse, Mike stood up and called to the class, "Stop all that noise. Now everyone be quiet." Mrs. Caplow turned to Mike and said, "That was very good, Mike. Be sure that you say it that way tomorrow night." Art, playing the role of father Cratchit, comes to Mike, playing Scrooge, and says, "Good morning, Uncle." Mike replies, "Bah, humbug." These two boys then exchange several other lines and do so apparently knowing their lines quite well.

The play continues as two of the children, portraying poor persons, come to Scrooge and ask for money to buy Christmas presents. Scrooge responds, "I have no money for the poor. There are places for such people. Be gone with you." As the two poor persons are to leave, the angels of "Christmas Past" are to come into the center of the circle. The following notes catch some of the activity as the children who were to be angels assemble for the entrance.

> Mrs. Caplow calls for the angels in a quite brusque and seemingly irritated voice. She appears very impatient with the children. The children, on the other hand, appear quite confused or else disinterested in the activity because they move with neither the enthusiasm or energy they are capable of. They have not lined up ready to enter, and in fact, several are still at their seats. After Mrs. Caplow, for the second time, and in a firm voice calls for the angels, they begin to assemble. (12/12/67)

After the angels had gotten into the circle and given their short talk to Scrooge, they merely stood in the circle. Mrs. Caplow said quite quickly to the children that they are to be out of the circle. She then continued to instruct the forthcoming actors in a similar manner. She appeared quite irritated and seemed to tolerate little hesitancy on the part of the children. Those children who were not involved, which number twenty of the thirty students in the class, sat at their seats displaying only sporadic attention in the activities of the rehearsal. Mrs. Caplow sensed the confusion and lack of attention in the room and suggested that the class "line up for a drink of water." This the class did, the boys in one line and the girls in another. After all had a chance for a drink, Mrs. Caplow asked them to come back to their seats. During the time that the children were at the drinking fountain, Mrs. Caplow brought into the center of the circle a small white table and six small white chairs.

When the children returned to their seats, Laura was told to go to the table, as was Frank. (Laura is the mother of the Cratchit family and Frank is the oldest son.) Mary was also told to go to the table as she played the part of the daughter. As she instructed these children to take their place in the circle, Brad, Joe, and Tom come from the boys' restroom. They were the last to come to their seats. As they neared their seats, Mrs. Caplow in a firm voice told them to sit down. She also put her hand on the shoulder of Brad and Tom and pushed them into the chairs. She then returned to the activities of the children in the center of the circle. When Scrooge comes to the Cratchit home to eat Christmas dinner with the family, he enters and says, "Here I am, Mr. Scrooge." When Mike said this, Mrs. Caplow came and turned him around and instructed him to say his lines so that he was facing the "audience." The activities in the play continued as the family and Scrooge are seated and ready to eat. At this moment, Mrs. Caplow called to the remainder of the class, "Okay, now let's everyone be quiet. Here is the line. Brad, what do you say now as Tiny Tim?" Brad responded, "God, bless us, everyone." Mrs. Caplow responded, "Yes, Brad, but say it louder tomorrow night. We will want everyone to hear you.

Later in the morning as the children were resting, Mrs. Caplow and I were able to chat informally for a few moments. She asked if I would be able to attend the program the following evening and I indicated that I would. She commented that she hoped the children would be able to "do much better by then." (For the past eight school days, she indicated, the class had been practicing this program for at least one hour per day.) She also asked when I planned to make another visit to the home of Lilly. I indicated that I would be going later the same afternoon. She asked if I would be able to find out why it is that

Lilly comes to school so often with a smell of urine. She said, "If there's any way that you can approach the subject with the mother, see if you can find out why it is that Lilly smells so strongly from urine. I wonder if she has to sleep in it or whether or not her bed is changed." Mrs. Caplow indicated that she was seriously thinking of asking the school social worker to make a home visit to determine the conditions and what might be done for the children. (In a later conversation with the school social worker, it was indicated to me that such a request from the kindergarten teacher had not been made.) Mrs. Caplow's final comment as she went back to check on the work of the children was concerning Lilly. She commented, "It is just pitiful that the child has to come to school literally stinking." (It should be noted that I did not follow through on Mrs. Caplow's request.)

Laura and Frank, Lilly and Brad

When the teacher was asked to select "two children doing well and two doing poorly," she chose Laura and Frank as doing well and Lilly and Brad as doing poorly. It was deliberately decided that the selection of the four children should be by the teacher for her perceptions of success and failure were more crucial to the classroom experience of the selected children than would be that of the observer. Beginning with the return of the children from Christmas vacation, observation within the classroom focused specifically on the behavior and activities of these four children. Rather than the teacher being the locus of observation as had been the case previously, the four children assumed priority. Thus observation of the activities of the children would continue even when not in interaction with the teacher. In this manner, for example, more attention could focus on the interaction of the children with their peers even when they ignored the activities of the teacher.

From the time in the previous fall when the teacher had selected the four children, I began to visit periodically in the homes of the four children. The major concern of these visits was to understand more of the milieu of the home as one of the crucial learning centers for the child. An assumption guiding this portion of the study was that learning for the child occurred not only in the classroom but also in the home and among peers. Thus through observation in an alternative learning milieu to that of the school, an attempt could be made to more clearly state the inter-relationship of the school and home as they influence the learning situation of the child. As a backdrop to the analysis of the education experience of the four children, a brief descriptive profile of the respective homes and families is offered.

Laura

Laura is an only child in a home where both the mother and father are employed. Both parents are high school graduates and the mother has some college experience. They live in a four-room apartment that is somewhat small but always very clean. The furnishings in the apartment are new and covered with plastic covers. The parents speak continually of their desire to move away from their inner city neighborhood to a suburban home. The plastic on the furniture is explained as necessary to keep the furniture "looking new for the new house." During the nearly three years of the study, they do not move.

Laura has her bed in the bedroom of her parents. Above her bed is a bulletin board reserved for her school papers. In the living room is a small desk where there is a supply of paper, pencils and several boxes of crayons specifically for her use. She has been bought a number of educational toys and materials including a globe, a small typewriter, several alphabet books, and a variety of children's general reading books.

Frank

Frank is also an only child in a home where both the mother and father are employed. Both parents are high school graduates and the mother also has a college degree. Frank's grandmother who, like her daughter, is a college graduate, also lives with the family. They live in a seven-room home that is extremely well-furnished with wall-to-wall carpeting and expensive-appearing furniture. The home is always very neat and orderly. The grandmother is apparently in charge of keeping the house since both parents are working. Like Laura's family, Frank's parents speak of moving to the suburbs away from the neighborhood where the grandmother has lived since childhood. Frank and his family do move to a spacious suburban home at the end of the kindergarten school year.

In their city home, Frank has a room of his own that is cluttered with model planes, trucks, a portable television, a record player, numerous books, an encyclopedia set, and a large chest of various toys. On the walls are posted many of his papers from school as well as pictures of racing cars, jet airplanes and a large bus. He has a small shelf that is well supplied with pencils, paper, crayons, felt-tip pens and colored construction paper.

Lilly

One of eleven children, Lilly and her family are supported by public welfare funds. The mother is not employed and has completed four grades of school in the rural South. At the age of eight, she quit school and went to work in the cotton fields which she did not leave until she moved north ten years later. The home consists of both apartments in a duplex. The home is in extremely poor repair and is quite dirty. During the winter there is no heat other than from a gas stove in the living room and another in the kitchen. The home in which Lilly and her family live is owned by a state public welfare worker who is also the family case worker. From the mother's monthly welfare payment of $330, $150 is payed back to the welfare worker for rent.

Lilly sleeps upstairs in a converted kitchen in a single bed with three of her sisters. Her clothes are piled in one corner of the room on the floor as there are no chests or closets for any of the children. None of the school work of Lilly or any of her seven other brothers and sisters in school is evident in the home. The only visible reading material is the T.V. Guide. The children do not have a single book or toy among them. The absence of material for the children is reflected in the remainder of the apartment which is sparsely furnished with old, dilapidated furniture that is extremely dirty. In many places on the walls there are large gaping holes where the plaster has fallen. The window of the front door is broken and covered with plastic and plywood.

Brad

Like Lilly, Brad comes from a home supported by public welfare funds. There are six children in the family with the baby born shortly before Christmas. Brad's mother completed eighth grade in the city school system and then quit to work to help support her family. She was married when she was nineteen. The family lives in a five-room apartment. Brad sleeps with his only brother in a bedroom they have to themselves. The mother and baby sleep in another while the three girls share the third bedroom. The home is always neat and well-heated. The furnishings are in good repair though not new. Brad's uncle lives nearby and appears to serve as a substitute father to the children, taking them riding in his car, taking them fishing and providing the mother with money to supplement her welfare payment of $205 per month..

In the bedroom shared by Brad and his older brother are a number of pictures of baseball players and cars. Several of his school papers lie in one corner. There are three fishing reels in another corner. The room is clean though sparsely furnished. There is only a bed and one chest. Brad has several toy trucks as well as a fishing reel which he appears to value quite highly. He once related that the reel was given to him by his grandfather. There are a few children's reading books in the home and the family subscribes to the city Black newspaper.

The Classroom Experience of Four Children

One of the routines that Mrs. Caplow repeated daily with the children was the opening exercise. Once the prayer had been deleted, the basic activities were the Pledge of Allegiance and the singing of

"My Country Tis of Thee." After these were completed, the children were given time to come to the front of the class and "show and tell." They could bring an item from home, tell of an experience or describe something that they had made. The show and tell period quickly became an activity reserved only for those from Table 1. On the first day back to school from the Christmas vacation, a number of children from all three tables had brought Christmas toys to school for the show and tell. However, only those children from Table 1 participated in show and tell, save one girl from Table 3 who brought a pretty dark-skinned doll for the class to see.

A description of the activities of the children during this period of show and tell follows:

> The second child called to the front is Laura. Mrs. Caplow says to Laura, "Laura, what do you have to tell the boys and girls today?" Laura comes to the front of the group and says, "My mama made me this dress." Mrs. Caplow commented that the dress was very beautiful and suggested to Laura that she take off her sweater so that the children could see the complete dress. The dress is a shift made from green corduroy. Mrs. Caplow asks Laura how her mother made the dress and Laura responds that she went to the home of a friend where she sewed it. Mrs. Caplow again praises Laura's dress. "That's a very pretty dress, Laura. Now you may sit down." (1/4/68)
>
> The fifth child asked to come to the front is Frank. Mrs. Caplow says to him, "Frank, you come to the front of the room and tell the boys and girls something. What did you bring to show them today?" Frank comes to the front and says, "I brought two race horses, see." He then reaches in his pocket and takes out two small plastic facsimilies of horses. Mrs. Caplow asks Frank if he plays with these two horses by himself and Frank replies, "No, friends come over to my house and we all play together." Mrs. Caplow asks the color of the two horses and Frank responds correctly that one is white and one is black. She then asks, "Frank, what is on the side of the horses?" Frank says, "Numbers."

> Mrs. Caplow continues, "Frank, do you know what those numerals are?" Frank responds "Four and five." Mrs. Caplow concludes with Frank by saying, "That's right Frank. Now thank you. You may go and sit down." Frank does return to his seat. (1/4/68)

> Lilly and Brad both sit at their desk. Lilly appears quite tired and has her head on her desk. Brad speaks briefly with Fred but otherwise has been very quiet. Neither child brought anything for the show and tell. (1/4/68)

The interchange of Frank and the teacher is indicative of the manner in which Mrs. Caplow often sought to utilize verbal exchanges with the Table 1 students not only to encourage the students to speak to the class, but to also press them for responses to questions related to academic performance. Thus Frank not only discusses who besides himself plays with the horses, but is then asked to give both color recognition and number recognition.

Later in the morning when the speech lesson had ended and Mrs. Cavan had left the room, Mrs. Caplow asked the class to listen to her directions.

> "Now, boys and girls," but before she continues, she notes that Lilly was attempting to remove her elephant name tag from around her neck. Mrs. Caplow says to Lilly in a firm voice, "Lilly, do not bother that name tag. I will take it from you later. No wonder that our name tags do not last very long when you children try to tear them off yourselves instead of letting me take them off of you." Lilly drops her hands and Mrs. Caplow returns her attention to the class with the instruction to the children that they are to "pretend that we are all asleep." (1/4/68)

After the short rest period, Mrs. Caplow asked the children to watch her at the front blackboard.

> She speaks to the class, "Okay, now boys and girls,

> look here. You know that now Christmas is passed and we have had to take down all the Christmas decorations. We have taken down our Christmas tree, our Santa Claus, and now we need to make new decorations for our room. So today we are all going to try and make a snowman that we can use to decorate our room. (1/4/68)

As the children were actively engaged in their construction of a snowman, I was able to walk among the group observing the performance of the four children.

> Frank works on his snowman in a very rapid manner, but his work is rather good. The circles for the head and body were not clear circles, but with the head and facial features there was no difficulty in distinguishing it as a snowman. The features he cut very neatly. The triangles are nearly perfect and the red hat is the "stove pipe" type.
>
> Laura is working simultaneously on two snowmen. She has asked the teacher that since one had to stay in the room to decorate the walls, could she make another to take to her mother. Mrs. Caplow consented. Laura's work was very neat and quite precise. She handles the scissors quite well.
>
> Lilly is having a great deal of difficulty making her snowman. Her major trouble appeared to be in her use of scissors. The large circle that was to be the body of the snowman was crumpled and quite jagged on the edges. It was very difficult to distinguish that it was to be a circle. She dropped her scissors quite often and appeared to be growing angry with herself for inability to control where she wished to cut.
>
> Brad did not appear to be having difficulty with the scissors, but his figure was quite distorted and crumpled. He held the paper in such a way that as he cut, he also bent the paper out of shape. (1/4/68)

I stood and watched as Lilly and Brad completed the body for the snowman. At this point Lilly asked if I would cut the hat for her snowman. Before doing so, I asked the teacher if she thought it a wise idea that I help the children at Table 3 and she indicated that I should "feel free by all means since they need so much help anyway." I then cut a hat for Lilly an for Brad, Fred, and Sandy who has asked me to do theirs also. When the bell rang for the morning recess, both Frank and Laura had completed their snowman. Brad also was finished, but Lilly was not. She was having great difficulty making the features for the eyes and buttons. She soon finished and brought it to show to the teacher. Mrs. Caplow commented on Lilly's work: "Oh, Lilly, this is such a nice snowman, you did a very good job." This was the second time during the school year that Lilly was observed bringing her material to the teacher. On the first occasion she had been rebuffed. When Lilly received the compliment, she smiled and went back to her desk to clear it of scraps and paste.

During this same observational period the teacher asked if I was learning to know any of the parents of the children I was visiting in the homes. I indicated that I was. She then stated what appeared to be her hypothesis as to the determinant of educational success or failure for any individual child. She noted that "it really is the home that holds the key to whether or not the child learns." She continued that she and the other teachers in the building have known for "many years" that "no matter what happens in the classroom, the home is what really affects whether the child learns. You can have the best teacher in the world, but if the home life is miserable, the child is not going to learn anything." This statement appears to serve as additional support for a major contention of this study stated in the previous chapter that the perception of the teacher as to the academic potential of the child was based on non-academic criteria.

In this instance, the teacher is indicating that poverty and disorganized homes are the source of educational failure. The child comes to the school as a failure before the first day of instruction for his home has made him such. Thus there is really very little a teacher can do other than put children from these environmental circumstances at Table 3 and leave them there where they "have no idea of what is going on."

January 26:

Whenever the children formed a semi-circle around the teacher, there appeared to have developed a rather clear pattern of the Table 1 children being quite close to the teacher while the children at Tables 2 and 3 were some distance from her. This pattern, though, appeared to depend upon the children being able to spontaneously form their own seating arrangement. When the teacher either directed the children individually to a seat in the group or called the class, table by table, the pattern changed. Such was the occasion on the 26th of January when the teacher first called Table 3 to the piano bench, then Table 2 and last, Table 1. Thus at the very rear of the group were many of the children who on other occasions participated quite frequently in the class discussion. When, however, they came last to the group from their desks and had to sit at the rear, their level of participation dropped perceptibly. They no longer offered answers and spoke to the teacher only when directly called upon. The children from Table 1 appeared to assume patterns of behavior highly similar to those of the Table 3 children when they were at the periphery of the group. Table 3 children, on the other hand, began to verbally interact with the teacher more frequently than previously.

The striking similarity of behavioral patterns of the two different groups of children when placed at the periphery of the semi-circle may be indicative of the impact that extreme distance from the teacher has upon the class participation of the student. When at a distance, the participation level decreases, regardless of previous levels of class participation. Given that the Table 3 children most often sat at the rear of the group, the very formation of the semicircle itself may have hindered the possibility of their effective participation in the class discussion. Thus location in the semi-circle may be more crucial to teacher-student interaction than assigned table seat. If such is the case, the possibility of the Table 3 students beginning extended interaction with the teacher would lie in her reformation of the semi-circles. So long as the children are able to spontaneously create their own internal order for the seating arrangement, the Table 3 students could be expected to remain on the periphery. The Table 1 students continually crowded close to the teacher, effectively blocking Tables 2 or 3 students from moving into close proximity.

The teacher's reason for calling the children to the piano bench on the 26th was to demonstrate how they could make a paper sculpture by taking strips of paper, putting glue on both ends and then bending the strip before it was glued to the sheet. Thus one could form an arch-like figure with the two glued ends of the strip serving to hold it in place. Mrs. Caplow repeatedly told the children as she demonstrated how to make the sculpture from a series of strips that the children were free to make any figure they wished. She noted explicitly that they did not have to copy her design and they were free to create their own. As the children began work,she related to me that she hoped the children would follow "the principle of creation" as they made their sculpture. She did not elaborate on that statement.

Lilly was one of the first two persons to have a strip glued to the sheet. She was gluing orange strips onto a gray base. Laura also was gluing orange strips onto a gray base. Frank glued pink strips on gray and Brad glued brown strips on gray base. Laura's sculpture was a nearly identical replica to the demonstration sculpture done by Mrs. Caplow at the piano bench. Brad's work was a series of five strips glued parallel to one another from one end of the base sheet to the other. They resembled a series of parallel arches. The work was very neat and appeared well done. Laura's work was also very neat though it did not have the number of strips as did Brad's. Lilly used three strips on her sculpture. Her work was somewhat untidy as she had difficulty with the glue and had small patches of glue on both the strips and the base. She also did not cut her strips in straight lines; they were somewhat jagged. Frank did not create a series of loops or arches with his strips, but glued them in different arrangements flat on the page. The effect was a woven mat type creation. When he went to show his work to Mrs. Caplow, she did not appear pleased.

> Frank holds up his sheet for Mrs. Caplow to see. She said to him in a very firm voice, "Frank that was not what you were supposed to do. I will give you another piece of paper for you to start over. You are to go back to your seat and do what I told you to do in the first place. Now do it right this time." She hands the new pieces of paper to Frank and he goes to his seat.

Frank's second sculpture was, as with Laura, an almost identical replication of the demonstration model done by Mrs. Caplow. When he finished the second, he showed it also to the teacher. She smiled and commented, "That's very nice Frank."

February 2:

The class was to take a field trip to a local dairy. Mrs. Caplow had asked the mothers of four children at Table 1 to accompany the group. The mothers of Laura, Mary, Joe and Earl were those whom Mrs. Caplow had asked. Since the bus held forty-nine passengers and the number of students plus parents, teacher and myself equaled thirty-six, Mrs. Caplow had invited twelve students from the other kindergarten section to accompany the group on the tour. I asked the criteria by which she chose those twelve students and she responded, "I wanted to get some children that are somewhat verbal so they can come back and tell the rest of their class about the trip. On the bus ride to and from the dairy, Laura sat with her mother, Lilly sat with Sandy, Brad sat with Fred, and Frank sat with Mike.

During the time that the children were to be in a line, either as they were to leave the room, board the bus, walk through the dairy, or return to the room, Frank was to "supervise" the group and make sure "that everyone stayed in line." As part of the unit on citizenship, Mrs. Caplow related that she appointed Frank as the sheriff for the trip. She stated that the children had to learn to respect the law and that a sheriff would symbolize the law to them. Thus, it was Frank's duty to enforce Mrs. Caplow's "order" that "the line was to be straight at all times." The notes give indication of Frank's activities as he attempted to keep the lines "straight."

> Before the class is to board the bus, Mrs. Caplow pauses and waits until Frank has straightened the line. Frank walks the length of the line repeating, "Boy, get where you suppose to." He often pushes the children as he speaks to them. Several times he also tells children from Table 3 that the teacher had made him the sheriff and displayed the badge that Mrs. Caplow had given him to wear. Mrs. Caplow smiles as Frank comes to the front of the line and indicates that everyone is ready. (2/2/68)

February 5:

As indicated earlier in the chapter, Mrs. Caplow began in November to teach the class in two groups, one being the Table 1 students and the other being the Table 2 and 3 students. All lessons were not done in this manner (note the lesson "creative sculpture" February 2), but those involving reading and arithmetic readiness exercises were taught separately to the two groups. The two groups did not complete the readiness material at the same pace. Mrs. Caplow spent between two and three times the amount of teaching time with the Table 1 students as with the Table 2 and 3 students. Thus those at Table 1 proceeded much more rapidly through the material. By the first week in February, the children at Table 2 and 3 were approximately three weeks behind the Table 1 students in the completion of readiness material.

Due to this gap in the completion of material between the Table 1 students and those at the other two tables, there appeared to be at least two implications for the pattern of classroom interaction. The first was the growing solidification of the teacher's pattern of questioning only those students from Table 1. This appeared to occur in part due to the fact that her questions were most often on material recently dealt with in the Table 1 readiness lessons. Mrs. Caplow's teaching strategy appeared to be one in which she taught and discussed with the entire class material pertinent to the Table 1 group. That is, discussions in class focused on material necessarily completed by the Table 1 group, but not necessarily by the Table 2 and 3 students. It is assumed she did not call on the Table 2 and 3 students because she believed that they could not know the answer, not having been taught the material. She continually called on the Table 1 students where she was most likely to receive a response. Mrs. Caplow's division of the class into two readiness groups and the subsequent disproportional allotment of teaching time appeared to create a situation that effectively blocked the Table 2 and 3 students from extensive interaction in classroom discussions. With the questions continually directed towards the Table 1 students on recently covered material, the Table 2 and 3 students were not given the opportunity to respond.

The second pattern of interaction that appeared to emerge from this fundamental division of the class was the adaptive means by which the Table 2 and 3 students learned material specifically directed towards those at Table 1. Though the Table 2 and 3 students were often given other assignments while the teacher taught the Table 1 students, they developed mechanisms among themselves whereby they discussed and appeared to learn the material designated for the Table 1 group. They appeared to learn the material in a manner distinctly different from the way in which it was first taught to the Table 1 students. They did not gain the information through direct interaction with the teacher, but by a secondary means whereby they overheard and then discussed among themselves what was being said. This "secondary learning" involved the mediation of the peer group at Table 2 and 3 as the source of the commonly shared information. The children did not appear to learn the material individually by each ignoring the others at the two tables and each merely listening to the teacher, but rather by discussion and exchange of information within the group.

The strongest evidence that can be presented, I believe in defense of this contention that the children at Tables 2 and 3 employed mechanisms of secondary learning to gain the information taught to those at Table 1, is that during home visits to children from Table 3, they related material taught in the class only to Table 1 students. Their discussion of the material did not appear to be superficial, but indicated that they had some grasp of what the classroom lesson had attempted to relate to the Table 1 students. It is not as though the children at Table 2 and 3 were ignorant of what was being taught in the class, but rather that the patterns of classroom interaction established by the teacher inhibited the Table 2 and 3 students from verbalizing what knowledge they had accumulated. The teacher's expectation appeared to be that if the material had not been formally discussed with the group, they could not be expected to know it and thus respond in class. Her expectations of who had and who had not learned the lesson thwarted the opportunity of the Table 2 and 3 students to verbalize that they, in fact, had learned what was being taught to the Table 1 group.

It cannot be assumed that those at Table 2 and 3 learned all that was taught to the Table 1 students, but enough appeared to have been understood that it was not justified to completely ignore them in classroom discussion on the basis that they knew nothing of what was "going on" in the classroom. On February 5, one such situation was observed in which the Table 2 and 3 students discussed among themselves what was being taught by Mrs. Caplow to the Table 1 students. Subsequent home visits to the two special Table 3 students (Lilly and Brad) confirmed that they had grasped some of the material presented in the classroom lesson.

February 15:

Mrs. Caplow related that as her "new idea" for the class today, she was going to have a lesson in "sequential logical thinking." She asked the children to go to the piano bench and form a semi-circle. On the periphery of this circle, with other children from Table 2 and 3, were Lilly and Brad. Brad was seated so far to the rear of the group that Mrs. Caplow asked him to move in closer so that he could "hear what was going on." Brad then moved close to Art.

> When Brad moves near Art, he takes out his billfold and shows it to Art. Mrs. Caplow notes that the two boys are talking among themselves and says, "Brad, what is that in your hand?" Brad makes no verbal response to the question but holds up the billfold so that she can see it. She responds, "Alright, now let's put it away." Brad does.

The lesson on sequential logical thinking then began with Mrs. Caplow showing to the class four small pictures. Each of these pictures represented an episode in a sequential activity. The first that she showed to the class involved the following four pictures: a chicken, an egg, an egg in a frying pan and an egg on a plate. The pictures were not shown to the class in this sequence, but in a random fashion; and the children were then to correctly establish the progression of the activity. A second set of pictures involved blowing snow, a boy rolling a snowball, a snowman and a snowman with a hat on. Finishing this second lesson, Mrs. Caplow interrupted the class and noted that she forgot to call the roll. She went to her desk and came back to the piano bench with the attendance record.

At the completion of the roll, Mrs. Caplow asked Mike to stand and she asked him, "Mike, can you tell Mr. Rist why you are wearing the star?" Mike responded, "Cause I the sheriff." Mrs. Caplow continued, "Can you tell him how you got to be the sheriff?" Mike: "By bein' a good citizen." Mrs. Caplow: "Mike, what do good citizens do?" Mike: "They check up on others." Mrs. Caplow: "Well, that's not all they do. Brad, what else do good citizens do?" Brad made no verbal response to the teacher's question and Mrs. Caplow repeated the question for Joe. Joe stood and said, "Good citizens obey all the rules." Mrs. Caplow responded, "Yes, that is right, Joe. Good citizens obey the rules, no matter what they are."

Mrs. Caplow then returned to her lesson on sequential logical thinking and put four pictures on the flannel board. She asked the class, "What is this story about?" Laura was the only one to respond and said "That Miss Muffett." Mrs. Caplow then said the nursery rhyme and asked the class to repeat it, line by line. When the class had said the rhyme, she then asked them to put the pictures in proper order. The following four cards were pictures of the story of "Humpty Dumpty." Lilly was called upon to select what she thought was the correct card for the second position. She did not respond and Laura called out, "I know." Mrs. Caplow responded, "I know that you know, Laura. But we should give others a chance, also." Frank was called upon and he correctly selected the card for the second position. Lilly began to swing her arms with Sandy at the rear of the group. Mrs. Caplow asked Lilly to come and sit by her chair. As Lilly rose, Sandy stopped waving her arms.

The children were each given a work sheet by the teacher with eight small pictures on it, four on the story of Little Miss Muffett and four on Humpty Dumpty. The children were to cut out the eight pictures and to paste them in the correct sequence on a piece of colored construction paper. Both Laura and Frank worked very quickly and efficiently on this project, and were the first children in the class to finish the lesson. Both seemed to know the two nursery rhymes quite well. Lilly and Brad, on the other hand, had a great deal of difficulty. They cut the eight small pictures from the sheet, but did not appear to know the order in which to paste them on the construction paper. Mrs. Caplow began to walk towards the children at Table 3 and Lilly asked for assistance. Before Mrs. Caplow came to the table she paused to reprimand Marcia for speaking too loud at Table 2. When Mrs. Caplow came to Table 3, she began to help Sandy and Ellen. Lilly sat and watched Mrs. Caplow help the other two children. Brad also watched Mrs. Caplow. Mrs. Caplow then came to help Lilly and asked Lilly to tell her the story for the Little Miss Muffett pictures. Lilly indicated that she did not know it. Mrs. Caplow asked for the Humpty Dumpty story and Lilly indicated that she does not know that story, either. Mrs. Caplow quickly pasted the eight pictures on the sheet for Lilly without explaining the reason for the order in which she placed the pictures. Brad watched Mrs. Caplow paste the pictures on Lilly's paper and then did his in a similar manner.

After Mrs. Caplow left Table 3, she commented to me that both Brad and Lilly appeared to be displaying more "groupness." She stated that both of the children had begun to participate more frequently in the class, but their academic performance had not correspondingly improved.

February 20:

For the first time since the eighth day of school Mrs. Caplow made a modification in the seating arrangement of the class. The modification occurred at Table 3. The table was divided into two smaller tables with the four boys at one table and the six girls at the other. The four boys are the farthest distance away from the blackboard where Mrs. Caplow gives most of the class instruction. The distance and angle of the table at which the four boys were seated was such that to clearly see the teacher at the blackboard, they would have to push their chairs out and away from the table. On one occasion when the boys did so in order to see the instructions on the board of how to draw a circle, they were reprimanded and told to sit with their legs under the table. This, of course, precluded their seeing writing on the blackboard. When the exercise sheet was passed out on which the children were to practice making a circle, the four boys at Table 3-B performed very poorly.[1]

February 27:

In February of 1967, the school board announced that they would seek voter approval of a bond proposal for the construction of several new schools and the extensive remodeling of others. Signs appeared in the windows of classrooms throughout the city urging a "Yes" vote on the proposal. At Attucks School, the principal also called for a special emphasis on the bond proposal at the April Parent-Teacher meeting. He encouraged the teachers to have their classes either present some entertainment at the meeting or else to provide literature and decorate the individual rooms in a manner urging support for the bond issue. The principal indicated in his memorandum to all the teachers that he wished the April meeting to be especially eventful for the parents in order that they would become "motivated" to vote for the bond issue.

In the kindergarten class, Mrs. Caplow decided to have the children perform a "playlet" for the parents at the April meeting. The theme of the short play was to be Little Red Riding Hood. The class began practicing for the performance eight weeks in advance of the April meeting. February 27th was to be the third practice session of the

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[1] The table of the four boys was now referred to by the teacher as 3-B. The girls' table was called 3-G. When both groups were spoken to as a unit, the teacher continued to refer to them as Table 3.

Little Red Riding Hood play. The children were seated in their chairs in a large semi-circle in the middle of the room. As the children were to begin, Frank called to Mrs. Caplow that Mike "keeps his mouth open." Mrs. Caplow responded to Frank that it was "okay if Mike keeps his mouth open so long as he does not talk loudly." Laura had come to where I was seated and said, "I have the best part." Mrs. Caplow overheard Laura's remark and smiled. Laura had been chosen to play Little Red Riding Hood. Frank was chosen to play the woodsman who saves Little Red Riding Hood from the wolf at the end of the play. Brad was to be among the group of woodsmen at the beginning of the play who warn (in chorus) Little Red Riding Hood not to take the path through the woods to Grandmother's house. Lilly was given the part of one of the children playing at the edge of the woods who Little Red Riding Hood meets as she is about to go into the woods.

The class practices the play for forty-five minutes. All the children were given some part, though only eleven had individual lines. When the play rehearsal was completed, Mrs. Caplow asked the class to return to their desks and "put their heads down" for the next ten minutes. This the children then did, though all did not rest. Several were coloring and three were looking at books from the library table. Lilly and Brad both had their heads down while Frank was coloring and Laura was looking at a book.

For the next several minutes, Mrs. Caplow and I discussed the play and the performance of the children. She indicated that she was pleased with the rehearsal and believed that the class could be ready by the middle of April. I asked Mrs. Caplow if she kept papers that the children completed in order to measure their progress over time. She indicated that she did not keep the papers of the children, but marks and returns them in order that the mothers may continually be aware of what activities the children are doing in the class. She also noted that she does not keep a grade record book, but that she makes evaluation of the children "in her head." She noted that when report cards are issued, she relies on what she can remember about the performance of the children in the past weeks.

The recess bell then rang and Mrs. Caplow instructed the children to get their coats and line up at the door to the playground. When the children were in line with the girls first (and Laura as the first of the girls) Mrs. Caplow dismissed them to go on to the playground. She then picked up the discussion that we had been having and asked if I had noticed anything "different" in the home of either Lilly or Brad. I indicated that there appeared to be nothing out of the ordinary other than both homes recently had new babies. Brad's mother recently had a son and Lilly's sixteen year-old sister also had a son three weeks previously. She stated that her reason for asking was that she believed both children were coming to school much more shabbily dressed and dirty than generally had been the case since Christmas. She noted that Lilly had a strong odor of urine for the past several days and her hair had not been combed "in days." She noted that she "really did not have any idea of what went on in the homes of most of the children in the class" and that she had visited in the home of only one child who sits at Table 1.

As I left the classroom while the children were yet outside for recess, I was called by Nick, the brother of Lilly. Nick is in the first grade. Nick walked to me and pointed to his first grade room. I asked if he liked first grade and he said "it okay." At this time a number of other boys began to gather around us. One of them asked me "What was I talkin' to Nick for. He a dumb-dumb." I indicated to the boy who asked the question that Nick was my friend and that I had visited Nick in his home. The boy asked again, "Well how come you like him? He so dumb. He do all the stupid things in the room." Nick blurted, "I don't." I responded that I did not know what Nick did in his classroom, but that he was my friend and that I liked to visit him in his home. I left the group and Nick walked the length of the hall with me to the main entrance of the school. He asked when I was again going to visit their home and I told him that I would be coming in two days.

111. SPRING

Spring in St. Louis comes in stages. The warm days begin to intermingle with the chilly and soon the forsythia have a tinge of yellow and green about them. The weather will vary considerable and one is never sure that he has dressed appropriately for that which is elusive and unpredictable.

In the classroom, Mrs. Caplow began her spring activities with the children by flying a kite on the playground. There was also to be the planting of the seeds in a sandbox in the room to watch "how plants grow." The bulletin boards were filled with pictures of tulips and a variety of other flowers. One picture of a white boy and girl in their new Easter outfits is entitled, "Easter is Coming." The children were all asked to make a flower out of several different colors of construction paper and these were then taped around the room above the blackboards. The class was well established in its routine of activities and the pattern of social organization created in the fall had retained their cohesion. Though the class had not had any vacation for several months, there was not the sense of fatigue that appeared to characterize the room prior to Christmas vacation.

March 8:

After the opening exercises, the teacher asked the group to come to the piano bench and form a semi-circle to discuss the new garden that they will plant in the sandbox. As the children formed their semi-circle, Laura and Frank came to the very front nearly touching the bench. Lilly was near the center of the group holding hands with Sandy, and Brad was on the periphery of the group seated next to John. Frank had with him a large sheet of paper approximately three by four feet on which is drawn a lion. The notes catch some of the anticipation of Frank to come to the front and tell of his lion.

> Frank stands and says to Mrs. Caplow that he has a lion that he wants to show the class. Mrs. Caplow responds to Frank, "Not now, Frank." Mrs. Caplow then explains that the children are going to be able to watch a television program shortly on how seeds grow into plants. Frank stands impatiently on the side of the group. He has moved to the edge and stood up. Several times he calls out, "I got somethin' to show everybody." Mrs. Caplow makes no response to these statements of Frank. After several more outbursts, Mrs. Caplow stops and says, "All right, Frank come to the front and show us your lion." Frank walks to the front of the group smiling and says, "Mrs. Caplow made a lion for me and I color it."

> Mrs. Caplow responds, "Well, that's good Frank. Where do lions live?" Joe calls out, "In the jungle." Mary adds, "Lions are the king of the jungle." Mrs. Caplow then asks, "How is the weather in the jungle?" Joe responds, "It hot." Mrs. Caplow says, "Yes, it is very warm in the jungle." Mrs. Caplow then explains to the class why she drew the outline of the lion for Frank. She relates that Frank had asked for a picture of a lion, but that she could not find one. Thus she drew the outline and let Frank take it home to color."

As Frank was about to sit down, Laura stood and said that she also had something to show the class. Mrs. Caplow asked Laura to come to the front and show the class what it was that she had brought. Laura came to the front and said,"I have a book." Mrs. Caplow asked Laura, "Do you know what kind of book it is?" Laura responded, "It a Bible." Mrs. Caplow continued, "Yes that's right. Do any of you know what these red and green ribbons inside the book are for? What are these called, these red and green ribbons?" There is no response from the class. "Some people use cardboard, but whatever they use they are called bookmarkers." She gave the book back to Laura and thanked her for bringing her Bible to class. During the time that Frank and Laura were in the front of the room, Lilly sat quietly with Sandy holding her hand. Brad at the rear also sat quietly listening to the activities at the front of the group.

When Laura was seated, Mrs. Caplow asked the class to stand and form a circle. The children except for Lilly, Sandy and Peggy stood to form the circle. These three girls remained seated and the class began to create the circle around them. They did not move and when Mrs. Caplow was ready to begin she saw these three still seated in the middle on the group on the floor. She went to them and softly asked if they would go and find a place in the circle. She was very pleasant with them and lead them to a place in the circle. When Mrs. Caplow took her place in the circle she stood between Frank and Mary. Frank took hold of her hand, and the children began to play "Farmer in the Dell" with Mike as the farmer. He chose Laura as his "wife" who in turn chose Mary as the daughter. By the end of the song and selection of people to come into the circle, all are girls except for Mike. No boy was chosen for any of the parts.

> At the end of Farmer in the Dell, Mrs. Caplow asks Brad to come into the circle and lead the class in the next game called "Everybody do this." This is a game where all the children on the circle imitate the actions of the person in the center. As the class begins to sing the "everybody do this" song, Brad begins to swing his arms. All the students and Mrs. Caplow do the same. When Brad finishes, he chooses Don as the next person for the center. Don then chooses Art who in turn wants to choose Laura. Mrs. Caplow says that Art should choose someone else since Laura had participated in the last game. Art chooses Joe who then chooses Frank. When Frank is finished, Mrs. Caplow indicates that it is time to watch the television program on the growing of seeds. She instructs the children to gather around the television set. Lilly immediately grabs the hand of Sandy and they sit together at the rear of the group. Brad does not sit down but goes to turn out the classroom lights. This task has usually been done by one of the students at Table 1. When the program is finished, Brad again jumped up quickly and turned on the lights. During the program the children displayed little interest. Brad went to the rear of the group and began talking with John. Lilly was speaking with Sandy, and Laura was looking at the new shoes of Mary. Frank was tracing the outline of his lion. Mrs. Caplow at one point asked Lilly to be quiet. When the program is over, the children line up to go to the restrooms.

During this slightly more than one hour of classroom activity, a significant occurrence was the activity of Brad. Having been called to the center of the group to lead the class in the game, he appeared to enjoy himself immensely. He smiled and laughed as he swung his arms.

His eagerness to participate carried over into his spontaneously going to the light switch. He was the first child observed since Christmas to work the light switch who had not sat at Table 1. Likewise, his leading the group in the game was the first observed instance of him as the center of attention during a class activity for the entire school year.

After the children had left the class for the playground, Mrs. Caplow made several comments related to Lilly and Brad. She related that Brad appeared to "be doing better in class. He tries hard and seems to like the other children. Sometimes his work is up to par, but there are other times when he simply sits confused or uncertain as to what he is to do. This is when he will watch the other children do their work and he does not do his own." Mrs. Caplow commented that she believed Lilly is "sliding backwards." She noted that Lilly appeared to be doing much better during the winter, but that she was not doing well presently. When asked what criteria she used to determine that Lilly was not doing as well as previously, Mrs. Caplow responded that her clothes were much more dirty, her hair was uncombed and that she had a strong body odor of urine. She added that the classroom assignments of Lilly were not as well done as previously and that Lilly was not participating in class to the extent that she had done before.

March 28:

Mrs. Caplow was preparing to show the class a movie on the various types of busses. As she prepared the projector, Laura came to where I was seated and said, "Mr. Rist, I have to go to the doctor after school.

I have enlarged tonsils." Before I could make a response to Laura, Art interrupted and showed me his open mouth where he had lost a tooth. Laura left as Art began to talk. I then asked Art if he had his tooth and he pulled it from his pocket. As Art showed me the tooth, Frank pushed Art aside and said that his dog had "bigger teeth" than does Art. He also said that he believes his dog can bite "harder than Art can."

As the movie was about to end, an eighth grade boy came into the room with a message for Mrs. Caplow from the school nurse containing a list of nine children that she wanted to see in her office. Mrs. Caplow explained to me as she went to her desk for the medical records of the children that the nurse was giving each of the children an examination. She stated that this was the second group of nine students that the nurse had called to her office. Laura, Frank and Brad were among the nine children. Mrs. Caplow gave Laura the medical records and told her to give them to the nurse. She also instructed Frank to lead the group to the nurse's office. The children left the room with Frank way in front of the remainder of the group. I followed walking with Brad.

The examination of the children consisted of the nurse asking the children their age, their home address, taking their weight and testing their eyes. Both Frank and Laura could give the nurse their home address, but Brad could not. All three could give their correct age. As the children waited to be called on by the nurse they sat on two benches. Frank left his bench and came to me. He indicated that I should lower my head so he could whisper into my ear. I did so and he said, "Mr. Rist, you doin' fine." I replied that I thought he was doing fine also. He smiled and went back to his seat. Mike at about the same time left his seat and went to where Brad was seated. He pushed Brad out of his seat and sat down. Brad made mo comment and went to another seat. Joe began to cry, apparently from fear of receiving a shot. Frank began to tease him about being scared of a shot and called him a "baby." Joe replied that he was not a "baby." The nurse came to Joe and told him not to worry because there would not be any shots today. When the nurse had given the short examination to each of the nine children she dismissed them and told them to return to their room.

April 16:

It was a balmy and wet spring day and the children were coming into the room late for class. Several were quite wet, apparently having come to school without an umbrella or raincoat. Twenty minutes after the class bell rang Mrs. Caplow began the opening exercises. When these were completed, she asked the children to sit down. Frank did not sit down but walked to where Mike was seated. Mrs. Caplow asked Frank to take his seat and he did. Mrs. Caplow began another familiar routine with the children--the weather calendar. Each day the children put on the calendar the correct date, the name of the day and a symbol for the type of weather outside.

> Mrs. Caplow asks who knows the name of the day. Art replies that it is Tuesday and Mrs. Caplow indicates that he is correct. She then asks him to come to the front and pin the card with the word "Tuesday" on the calendar. This Art does. Mrs. Caplow then pins onto the calendar a card with the number 16 on it. She then asks, "Who knows what number this is?" Laura calls out "16" and Mrs. Caplow acknowledges that Laura is correct, but says that she will not take an answer from anyone who had not raised his hand. Thus she then calls on Fred from Table 3 to give her the name of the number on the calendar. Fred makes no verbal response, but

> comes to the front and stands by Mrs. Caplow. Frank begins to call out that "He don't know. He scared." Mary adds, "It sixteen, stupid." Frank then tells Mary to be quiet. Fred then says "sixteen" and goes back to his seat. Mrs. Caplow then points to the weather symbol that had been put on the calendar from the morning section which was a cloud. She asks Frank, 'What does the weather symbol say?" Frank responds, "It rainin' outside." Mrs. Caplow says, "Frank, you do not listen. Now be quiet." Frank gets up out of his seat and goes to the window. He looks out and says, "It is too rainin'." Mrs. Caplow responds, "Frank, come back and sit down. Now listen to me." Mrs. Caplow then calls on Joe and he correctly responds to Mrs. Caplow's question indicating that the weather symbol means it is cloudy. She then asks Joe what symbol they need on the calendar for the afternoon, and he correctly responds that the calendar needs an umbrella. Frank comes out of his seat to speak to Mrs. Caplow, but before he can say anything, he is told to go back to his seat. He goes back to his seat and calls out loudly, "Mrs. Caplow, Mike says we goin' outside for recess." Mrs. Caplow ignores Frank's comment.

Mrs. Caplow, upon completion of the opening exercises, introduced the class to Miss Brush, an apprentice teacher from Harris Teacher's College. Mrs. Caplow then gave Miss Brush the name tags of the children and suggested that she call each of the children to come to the front for a name tag. Mrs. Caplow indicated to me that she was going to let Miss Brush "take over the class" for the entire afternoon. She had planned with her to simply read stories and let the children color. Mrs. Caplow stated that she wanted to be free of teaching for the afternoon in order to straighten the room for the Parent-Teacher Open House meeting to be held the same evening. Mrs. Caplow also noted that she had a number of forms concerning the bond proposal to be voted on in two days to prepare to pass out to each of the parents who would come to the room.

Miss Brush asked the children to form a semi-circle on the floor by the flannel board. Laura and Frank came to the very front while Lilly and Brad sat far to the rear. During the reading of a story about an Easter Bunny, the amount of whispering and talking among the children began to grow. Miss Brush asked the class to be quiet, but most of the children continued to talk. The noise continued to grow and Mrs. Caplow finally came to the flannel board and told the children to return to their seats. Miss Brush appeared somewhat upset and Mrs. Caplow told her that she should not worry because the class "doesn't always do what they are told to do."

Mrs. Caplow then took over direction of the class and had Frank pass out a sheet of lined paper to each of the students. She informed the class that they would work on the title for the "Book of Sounds" that they will be making. She stated that she had kept all the papers that the children had done for the different sounds. Now they will begin to put them all together for a book of sounds. Mrs. Caplow began to write the heading for the title of the book on the blackboard. As was the case on many other occasions with blackboard work, the children at Table 3 could not see what had been written by the teacher.

> Lilly stands up out of her seat. Mrs. Caplow asks Lilly what it is that she wants. Lilly makes no verbal response to the question. Mrs. Caplow then says rather firmly to Lilly, "Sit down." Lilly does. However, Lilly sits sideways in her chair in order to see the writing on the blackboard. Mrs. Caplow instructs Lilly to "turn around and put your feet under the table." This Lilly does. Now she is facing directly away from the teacher and the blackboard where the teacher is demonstrating how to make the letter "O" as a part of the heading. There is no way that she can now see what the teacher is writing.

April 22:

Since the beginning of January when the focus of the observations shifted from the interactional pattern of the entire class and their locus with Mrs. Caplow to the observation of four children, an attempt was made to note as nearly as possible the simultaneous activities of all four children. An alternative observational approach was attempted on the 22nd of April when the focus of attention centered on an individual student for a period of fifteen to twenty minutes. All other students and the teacher were ignored except as they interacted with the single student under intensive observation. The two classroom activities during the observational period were "show and tell" and also a rehearsal of the Little Red Riding Hood play to be presented at the closing exercise of the school in June. Mrs. Caplow explained that she did not believe that the children had learned their parts well enough to perform at the "open house" the week before and that the performance was going to be postponed until the school closing program. As the first observation begins the children are in a semi-circle at the piano bench where they are about to begin a "show and tell" period.

Brad:

1:08
Brad is sitting quietly at the rear of the semi-circle with his hands under his chin and his legs crossed. He is intently watching Robert tie his shoestring. Brad begins to try and tie the other of Robert's shoestrings. He completes the tying and Robert makes a comment to him in a very soft voice. Brad nods in agreement. He then looks out into the hallway and sees two boys at the water fountain. He taps Robert and points to the hall. Robert looks also. Brad then points to Art's tennis shoes and tells Art that he also is wearing a pair of

tennis shoes. Robert tells Brad that he is wearing a red undershirt. He pulls up his shirt and shows it to Brad. Brad smiles. Brad then pulls down the neck of his own sweater and shows that he also is wearing a tee-shirt. (During this time four children have been to the front for show and tell.) At one point, Mrs. Caplow has the children repeat "Department Store." Brad makes no response. When Sandy begins to tell of her trip to the zoo, he listens very closely. When she is finished, he yawns and stretches. When Mrs. Caplow asks the class if a polar bear has a tail, he makes no response. As a number of boys crowd to the front to see the small red truck that Joe has brought,Brad remains seated at the rear of the group. He clicks the toes of his shoes together. Frank, who is seated in front of Brad, loses a small red ball that he had been bouncing on the floor. It rolls back to Brad. Brad picks it up and returns it to Frank.He then watches as Frank again begins to bounce the ball in front of him. While Mrs. Caplow begins asking the class about various animals in the zoo, Brad takes off his shoe and then puts it back on. This he repeats twice. When May begins to tell of her recent trip to the zoo, Brad again listens intently. He appears to enjoy May's description of several of the animals.
1:19 p.m.

Frank:

1:20 p.m.

Frank is seated in the middle of the semi-circle between Joe and Tom. He is propped on his knees playing with what he earlier told me was a knife, but "not a real knife." He listens very closely when Mary comes to the front of the class and tells how she saw the funeral of Dr. King on the television. When Mary finishes, he stands up and goes to the front of the class, taps Mrs. Caplow on the shoulder and says, "Dr. Martin Luther King was our leader." Mrs. Caplow makes no response to Frank and he returns to his seat. As Frank is about to sit, Mrs. Caplow tells him to "sit down and face the front." Frank sits propped on his knees. Mrs. Caplow then instructs the class to stand and form a circle. Frank returns to Mrs. Caplow, taps her on the shoulder and again says, "Dr. Martin Luther King was our leader." Mrs. Caplow makes no response and he goes and stands between Ronald and Rich. As the class sings, "The Farmer in the Dell," Frank does not participate, but does do the hand motions. When Mrs. Caplow is going to select a new cat, Frank raises his hand. Mrs. Caplow tells him to put down his hand as he is called on so often. He does put down his hand and begins to pick his nose as the rest of the class plays "cat and mouse." When the class plays "Farmer in the Dell" again, Frank begins to sing along. When the mother is about to take a cat, he hesitantly raises his hand but is not called upon. When this game ends, Mrs. Caplow says the class will play one more, "Wee Willie Winkins." She asks Frank to be Wee Willie. Frank taps Mike and then beats him in running around the circle. When he gets safely into Mike's former place he tells Mike that he can run the faster. He is now standing next to Joe. He tells Joe to hold hands. At the end of the game he goes to Mrs. Caplow and shows her a small burn on his right hand. Mrs. Caplow asks Frank how he received the burn and Frank replies that he touched a hot plate at home. Mrs. Caplow then tells the class that they are going to rehearse "Little Red Riding Hood." Frank goes immediately to Mrs. Caplow and asks if he can be the wolf. She says, "No." Frank then comes to me and shows pictures of two station wagons. He asks if they are like mine and I indicate that they are very similar. He then wants to shake my hand but wants to use his left hand. Sensing what he wanted me to ask him, I ask why he had to use his left hand. He then explains his burn. Mrs. Caplow tells the class to bring their chairs and form a large semi-circle. Frank goes for his chair and as he returns, indicates that he cut out a picture of Santa's reindeer and pasted it on his wall at home. He then tells Joe and Mary to quit talking or he will come and hit them. Frank sits and picks his nose as the class begins the rehearsal. When the entire class is to respond, he does not do so. He begins to draw figures in the air. Then he looks out the wnndows. Mrs. Caplow instructs the class to say the word "cape." Frank repeats the word, but when Mrs. Caplow tells the class to say it again, he does not. Soon Rich, who is seated next to Frank, is asked by Mrs. Caplow to correctly say the word "grandmother." Rich mispronounces the word. Frank corrects him softly and says it correctly. Rich tries to say it again, this time somewhat more correctly. When Mrs. Caplow asks the entire class to say the word "grandmother," Frank does not respond.

Frank then tells Rich his shoestring is untied and smiles as Rich begins to tie it.
1:36 p.m.

Lilly:

1:37
Lilly is standing in the center of the large circle with her hands on the hips of Sandy. Lilly, Sandy, Susan and Angela are to be four bunnies who do the "bunny hop" and then are chased off stage by the wolf. When the girls are back in their seats and the wolf comments that he wished that he had been able to catch a bunny so that he could eat it for supper, Sandy and Lilly look at one another and smile. Lilly watches intently the interaction between the wolf and Little Red Riding Hood. She pulls up her socks and then moves her chair in closer in order that her view is not blocked by Sandy. Ellen motions to Lilly that part of her hair is standing straight on her head. This is actually a small pigtail that was braided on the very top center of her head. Ellen begins to laugh and Lilly pushes down the hair. She puts her hand on the shoulder of Sandy and both watch the interaction of the wolf and Little Red Riding Hood. Lilly bites her lap as the wolf chases away the grandmother. Mrs. Caplow give instructions on dialogue to both the wolf and Little Red Riding Hood. Lilly repeats each word after the teacher softly to herself. When Sandy indicates that she would like to play "paddy cake" Lilly says softly "no." When Mrs. Caplow tells the class to knock their knuckles on their chairs as if it were the wolf knocking, Lilly does so. Lilly laughs as Mike (the wolf) uses a high falsetto voice to imitate the grandmother in enticing Little Red Riding Hood into the house. She smiles as Mike puts on the apron worn by the grandmother. She moves to the side of her chair and holds her fist in such a way to be ready to again knock on her chair when Little Red Riding Hood calls. However, this is not to be for several minutes and Lilly sits prepared minutes before anyone else. When Mrs. Caplow gives further dialogue instructions to Laura (Little Red Riding Hood), Lilly repeats each of the words to herself. When Laura then says the words, prompted by Mrs. Caplow, Lilly repeats them also. Lilly at this

Lilly at this point turns her head away from the play and looks at objects on the flannel board. Sandy turns around also and they begin to laugh among themselves at the various pictures of zoo animals on the board. They turn back to watch the play. When the wolf tries to eat Little Red Riding Hood and says the line "The better to eat you with, my dear," Lilly repeats the entire phrase softly. She puts her arm around Sandy as they stand and watch the woodsmen kill the wolf.
1:49

Laura:

1:50
As Mrs. Caplow tells the class to return to their chairs, having stood to watch the wolf being killed, Laura sits on one of the chairs in the center of the circle. Also sitting with Laura is Marcia. They begin to repeat the lines of the wolf and Little Red Riding Hood with Marcia taking the part of the wolf. When they get to the lines, "The better to eat you with," they laugh and Marcia begins to chase Laura. Laura then begins to sing softly to herself and snap her fingers. She stands by her chair when Mrs. Caplow tells the class to stand and be prepared to take the chairs back to their desks. . .Mrs. Caplow calls for the Table 1 students to take their chairs first. Laura picks up her chair and carries it to her desk. She does not sit down in her chair, but walks to the supply table where she picks up a piece of white drawing paper. She comes back to her seat and begins to fold it into smaller squares. She mentions to Mrs. Caplow that none of the children were able to order their milk. Mrs. Caplow makes no response to Laura and instructs all the girls to line up for the bathroom. Laura then goes with the rest of the girls from Table 1 to the entrance of the restroom. She has her piece of paper in her hand which she continues to fold smaller and smaller. Mrs. Caplow instructs the girls to line up at the door to the playground when they come from the restroom. Laura takes Virginia's hand and they are the fourth pair from the front of the line. Laura does not speak to Virginia, and stands examining her piece of paper. She drops her hand from Virginia and again begins work on her paper. She now unfolds it and begins to fold it in a different manner. She looks up from her paper and tells Ellen that her hair looks like it is "melted"

> Ellen responds, "Girl, you crazy. My hair's not melted." Laura says, "It look that way." Laura then turns her attention back to the piece of paper and begins to fold it in the shape of a paper airplane. Mrs. Caplow then dismisses the class.
> 1:59 p.m.

From an examination of the activities and interactions of these four children during the above and two other class sessions (April 29, and May 6) there appear to be at least some tentative conclusions that may be offered as to the adaptation of each of the children to the classroom milieu. There also appear to be some general patterns of behavior displayed by Brad and Lilly from Table 3. This situation also is the case in the reverse.

For Laura and Frank, the classroom does not appear to be a place that they fear. Rather, the classroom is a place where they are allowed a great deal of physical mobility, receive a disproportional amount of the teacher's attention and teaching, are used as models by the teacher that the remainder of the class would do well to emulate,and experience a positive relationship with an adult. Individually, Frank is given an amount of mobility through the classroom not experienced by any other student. He has a continual high degree of interaction with the adilts in the room, whether it be the teacher, student teacher, or myself. He displays occasional hostility and ridicule towards those of the other two tables and appears to have learned how to, in a sense, "handle" the teacher. He often openly disregards her directives, states his personal wishes which are frequently granted, sustains interaction with other children during periods when there is to be individual work done silently, and banters with the teacher over the degree to which he has to comply with stated class assignments. Laura maintains a continuous high degree of verbal interaction with the teacher and is often quite close to her in proximity. She also has a high degree of unrestricted mobility through the room and is the object of most of the affection displayed by the teacher. She is given a great deal of permissive freedom in the room and allowed to work on material not assigned to the class and also is able to occasionally ignore class assignments. She appears to have highly internalized the pattern of the class routine desired by the teacher. Like Frank, Laura also appears to have a degree of control over her own actions within the classroom. She does not continually comply with the wishes of the teacher and will banter as to the degree to which she need comply.

For Lilly and Brad, the situation appears to be quite different. Neither has any degree of mobility through the class; neither has a high degree of interaction with the teacher or is in close proximity with her; neither receives much of her teaching time; neither is singled out by the teacher for special praise and treatments as are Frank and Laura. Both appear to be characterized by a continual presence on the periphery of the activities and seating arrangements in the class; a low level of interaction with any adult in the room; and a strong solidarity with other students at the same table. Both respond indirectly to the questions and statements of the teacher (that is, softly to themselves or to another student); seem to learn a significant part of their material through a secondary mechanism where by the other students at the table become important in both discussion and sharing of information; and are the subject of ridicule and derision from other students in the class, primarily from those at Table 1. There is no way of knowing, of course, precisely how the classroom experience is interpreted by these two children. They both display mainfestations of withdrawing from the teacher, seeking closeness with fellow Table 3 students and only being marginally involved in class activities. In their homes, both children have expressed their like for school and for the teacher. They both have spoken with visible excitement and pleasure of some of the activities of the class (especially the field trips) and also of their class friends.

April 24:

"Progress Reports" are given to the children at the end of each of the four ten-week sessions during the school year. On the front of the four-page yellow card is a letter addressed to the parents from the Superintendent of Schools. The letter is as follows:

> To Parents: The Kindergarten provides activities which introduce your child to school life and help him learn to work and play well with others. Kindergarten experiences help him to grow in many ways and to develop important skills. All children, however, do not grow and learn at the same rate. You are urged, therefore, to study this progress report carefully so that you will know in which areas your child needs more time to grow or more encouragement and help. If there are questions concerning the report, you may wish to call the school and arrange to talk with the teacher. The best progress is made by the child when home and school work together.

On page two and three of the report are listed the fifteen areas in which the child is evaluated. With each of the criteria is drawn a picture illustrating children engaged in the specific activity. Thus the first of the fifteen criteria is listed as "I work and play well with others" and shows two children working together building with play blocks. The remaining fourteen areas of evaluation are listed as they appear on the card.

1) I try to control my feelings.

2) I obey school rules.

3) I take care of my own materials and wraps.

4) I am a good listener.

5) I follow directions.

6) I work without disturbing others.

7) I finish my work.

8) I use crayons, scissors, paints and paste properly.

9) I take part in singing and rhythmic activities.

10) I show interest in books, stories and poetry.

11) I show improvement in the way I tell experiences and stories.

12) I speak so that others can hear and understand me.

13) I am making satisfactory progress in reading readiness activities.

14) I take part in counting and other number activities.

On each of the fifteen criteria, the teacher is to mark one of three grades, "Y," "S," "N." The "Y" is to represent yes, the "S" is to represent sometimes and the "N" is to represent no. There is space on the card at the bottom of page three for the attendance record of the child including days present, days absent and days tardy. The teacher is then to sign her name at the bottom of the third page. On the fourth page at the top is room for the teacher to make "observations" about the performance of the child in the class. Since the card is returned by the parents to the school at the end of the first quarter of each semester, there is provided room for the teacher to make observations for both the first and second ten-week grading period in each semester. The parents return the card at the end of the first half of the semester, but at the end of the semester they may keep it. At the bottom of the card is room for comments of the parents on the grading of the first ten-week period.

On the 24th day of April, the children returned the progress reports to Mrs.Caplow with their parent's comments on the evaluation report of the teacher regarding the first ten-week session of the second semester.

Frank:

Frank had been given the Mark of "Y" on all fifteen criteria. He had been marked absent on nine of the forty-nine days. The teacher's comments on the back of the card read, "Frank has become an excellent pupil. He is alert and interested. His work is above average and his conduct is good. He works very well independently." Because of the fifteen "Y" marks, Frank was given a gold star on his card. When the card was returned, Frank's mother had made the following remarks, "I am very pleased with Frank's progress at this time. I hope it continues. I am elated over his conduct! Let me know the minute it goes off, please."

Laura:

Laura was given the evaluation of the "Y" on all fifteen criteria. She also was present all forty-nine days. She was given two stars, one gold for her performance and one blue for her attendance. The teacher comments on Laura: "Laura is outstanding. She is unusually creative. It is a pleasure to have her in the class. She works very well independently." Laura's mother made no comment on the card.

Brad:

Brad was evaluated at "Y" on eleven of the items and "S" on the remaining four. These four criteria which were marked as "S" were "I finish my work; I follow directions; I take part in counting and other number activities; I am progressing in reading readiness activities." Brad was marked as present on forty-one of the forty-nine for the quarter. The teacher's comments were as follows: "Brad's work is fair. He tries hard but does not always seem to understand. Please help him and encourage him as much as possible." Brad's mother made no comment.

Lilly:

Lilly received twelve "Y" and three "S" markings. The three areas in which she was evaluated as "S":were as follows, "I show improvement in the way I tell experiences and stories; I am making satisfactory progress in reading readiness activities; I take part in counting and other number activities;" Lilly was marked as present forty-eight of the forty-nine days in the marking period. The comments of Mrs. Caplow were: "Lilly has improved greatly. Please continue to encourage her." The mother made no comment.

May 29:

The teacher was not in the classroom when I entered on the 29th of May. The children were involved in a number of activities. Some were coloring, others were in the playhouse, others were at the blackboard and four or five girls were playing with the doll house. Lilly was at her seat coloring. I asked her what she was drawing and she commented in a low barely audible voice that she was drawing a "ship bow." Ellen, sitting next to Lilly immediately became excited and said, "Lilly sayin' a naughty word, Mr. Rist." Lilly responded, in a rather belligerent manner, "I ain't. I say ship bow." Ellen said, "You did not. You say shit bow." Lilly once more responded that she did not and then refused to talk any further with Ellen. She bowed her head and continued to color.

Mrs. Caplow shortly returned to the room and informed the class that they would begin practicing the Little Red Riding Hood play. She asked the children to take their chairs and form a large circle in the middle of the room. When the children were in a circle, she passed out a number of musical instruments that certain children were to use to accompany the class as they sang several songs during the play. Most of the children who were given musical instruments sit at Table 2. As the instruments were distributed, Mike came to me and asked that I look at Lilly's shoes. I asked why and he commented "Because they so ragged and dirty." Lilly did not hear Mike's comments.

During the rehearsal, a girl from the eighth grade brought a three year old child into the room. Mrs. Caplow asked what she is to do with the child and the eighth grader commented that this was her teacher's child and that she wanted Mrs. Caplow to take care of her until the end of the school day. In a very disgusted voice Mrs. Caplow said, "All right," and took the child by the hand. She led the child to one of the tables and gave her a piece of paper and a box of crayons. Mrs. Caplow then commented to me this happens periodically throughout the school year that she is expected to baby sit for other teachers in the building. She stated that apparently other teachers believe that the kindergarten is a "dumping ground" where they can all leave their babies. She appeared quite annoyed by this incident and when she returned to the children in the circle, she was less friendly and patient with them.

June 6:

During the first minutes after the children come in off the playground Mrs. Caplow allows the children "free time." She indicated that she does this because "in spring the children cannot settle down very well and with the free time, they begin to calm down before the lesson starts." During the time that the children were involved in a number of activities throughout the room Mrs. Caplow painted a red and white play house that was to be the grandmother's house in the forthcoming play.

As I greeted Mrs. Caplow after first arriving in the room, she responded in a pleasant manner, but she appeared deeply disturbed. As I watched Brad and Frank at the toy chest, Mrs. Caplow came and began discussing the assassination of Robert Kennedy the previous night. She appeared to become increasingly upset as she talked and several times appeared to be on the verge of tears. She commented that she could not understand why the Arab "had done what he done." She stated, "What would happen if all the Negroes who didn't like whites began shooting, or vice versa. That man probably had more opportunity in this country than any of my own folk." She broke off the conversation and went to the children. Shortly she returned and again began to speak of the assassination. She spoke of the "general breakdown in the society, the lack of respect for the elders, the lack of respect for one another and the lack of respect for property." She continued, "You know, I can even see it here in my own classroom. I try and have the children pick up after themselves and also help one another, but they constantly come back with the question, 'Why should I?'" She noted that this was not the case when she was young and that everyone "pitched in" to help one another. "The children now are much more for themselves than they are for the group," she said. "If you can imagine how much stress this places in one little classroom, think of the entire nation. Why there are two hundred million people and they won't work together."

I walked through the room as the children were busy in a number of activities and saw Lilly coloring. I asked Lilly what it was that she was drawing and she replied, "A parachute." Frank interrupted and commented that "Lilly can't draw nothin'." Mrs. Caplow then had the class come to the center of the room for another practice session of the Little Red Riding Hood play. As the children took their seats, Mrs. Caplow spoke her only words of the hour to Lilly. She said, "Lilly sit up straight." The rehearsal then began with a welcoming song that was composed of the following words: "Mr. Miller and parents too, we welcome you to our program. It is the end of our kindergarten year and we will always hold our memories dear." There then was to be the pledge of allegiance and Mrs. Caplow told the children to place their right hand over their hearts. Seven of the children put their left hand over their heart. Frank was told twice to put his hand over his heart but he did not. He stood with both hands at his side. After the pledge, the children began singing the "Little Red Riding Hood" song. During the second stanza the recess bell rang. At the end of the verse, Mrs. Caplow dismissed the class.

June 13:

On Thursday, June 13, there was no school. The children were excused for the day in order that the teachers could prepare the final report cards and submit all necessary forms to the office. On Friday, the 14th, the children would only be present for half a day to receive their cards, turn in their books, and collect their belongings, papers, and projects. The children also went to their new classroom on Friday where they met their teacher for the coming year.

On Thursday, I met with Mrs. Caplow for nearly an hour to discuss aspects of the just completed school year. She noted that of the twenty-eight children in the class, twelve were scheduled to remain in the central building while the others would be assigned either to a new school being completed or to one of the branch schools built to accomodate the overflow of students. She stated that Laura, Frank and Lilly would remain in the main building while Brad would be assigned to one of the branch schools.

Mrs. Caplow also had the results of the I.Q. test that she had given the children earlier in the week. She gave the scores of the four children selected for special observation as follows: Frank, 120;

Laura, 111; Lilly, 82; and Brad, 78.[3] Mrs. Caplow then read the remainder of the scores of the children in the class. When the list was finished, I asked, "Mrs. Caplow from what I am able to remember of the scores you have just read, it appears that a large number of them are low average or else below average. Why do you think this is so?" Her response was as follows:

> Well, most of these children are not above average. Some of them are even below average. I guess the best way is to say it is that very few of the children in my class are exceptional. I gues you were able to notice this from the way the children were seated this last year. Those children at Table 1 gave consistently the most responses throughout the year and seemed most interested in what was going on in the classroom. The children at Table 2 and most all of them

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[3] The variations in I.Q. scores among the four students necessitates further comment. There appear to be at least three alternative explanations for the differences in scores. First, the scores represent the results of differential treatment in the classroom by Mrs. Caplow, thus contributing to the validation of the self-sulfilling prophecy. That is, the teacher by her predominance of teaching time spent with the Table 1 students, better prepared those students to do well on the examination than was the case for those students who received less teaching time. Secondly, the tests themselves may have reflected strong biases towards the knowledge and experiences of middle-class background. Thus, students from such backgrounds could be expected to perform at a higher level than those students from low-income families. The test resulted not in a "value free" measure of cognitive capacity, but in an index of family background. Third, Mrs. Caplow's seemingly intuitive judgements as to which children in the class were "fast learners" and which were "slow learners" may have been based on criteria unknown to me. Her selections in this case may not have been subjective, but objective in the sense of being based on nineteen years ot teaching experience. The third of these alternative explanations for the variations in I.Q. appears least able to be substantiated. The teacher had made seating selections after eight days of school, and the scores were not available until the last week of school. Likewise, not all those students in the Table 1 group did score higher than those at Tables 2 and 3. There was not a clear sliding scale in scores from the highest to lowest correspondent to table assignment.

> at Table 3, at times, seemed to have no idea of what was going on in the class and were in another world often by themselves. It just appears that some can do it and some cannot. I don't think it is the teaching that affects those that cannot do it, but some are just basically, I have to say it, low achievers. You know, for some children, it takes time to learn what is expected of them in the school. A lot of them still haven't caught on at the end of one year of kindergarten. Some of these low scores I just can't understand because we spent a lot of time this year working arithmetic, comparisons, similarities, larger than and smaller than. This is just about all the I.Q. is made up of, too. Also I don't understand why the non-language scores were better than the language scores.

In response to Mrs. Caplow's last statement, the question was posed, "Why do you think it is the case that the children scored somewhat better on non-language tests than on the language tests?"

Her reply:

> Well, I really don't know. It appears, though, that the children don't have ideas and also they have poor vocabularies. There is a set vocabulary to use for the test and whenever you give the instructions, you have to use specific words or else the test is invalid. It might be that some of the children didn't understand the words. This goes back to the environment because the children haven't heard the words before. You know, they're not very verbal at home. They get their needs fulfilled in ways other than talking. It is just the opposite with the children who scored very well on the test. They almost do too much talking and I have to spend my time trying to keep them quiet. Laura, for example, has great determination and lots of drive, but she is in some ways overly aggressive. But I guess it would be better for a child to be overly aggressive than passive and withdrawn. I would rather have a child try too hard than not try at all. It just seems that some children do not try. Laura, Frank and Mike tried hard all year, but others do not seem insipired. I guess it is that the parents do not pay any attention to the children and take no pride in the work that the children bring home from school. The children just do not get encouraged. Did you notice at the play yesterday how so many of the children came so nicely dressed and clean and their hair was combed. And

> did you see how Lilly came? She was dressed in a dirty dress, dirty socks, and her hair wasn't even combed. But I am glad that she did come even though she did not look very nice. It must be that some parents just have a different set of values. The child can be no better than his association with his parents. Maybe some of the children will change when they get older, but most of them will be in a rut for their whole life.

The last question asked of Mrs. Caplow concerned the four children that she selected--two doing well and two doing poorly; "Mrs. Caplow would you care to discuss the four children that you selected for me and that I have been observing during this school year?" Her response was as follows:

> Frank, I think, is in some ways better than when he started. If kindergarten has helped him at all, it has been his social development. I think this will be a big help to him in the other grades, learning how to get along with other children. You know that Frank knew most of the material that we tried to teach this year in kindergarten so that I think the important thing for him was probably his social development. I think Laura gained new learning in the kindergarten. Now she has learned to modify her actions somewhat to fit into the group. I like Laura very much for she has a great drive to do well. I sure hope that she keeps that drive to do well. Laura touches something very deep in me for she is such a creative child. There have been many times when she has done things on her own that show a high degree of creativity and ingenuity which I like to see very much in a child. As for Lilly, well, when she first came she was rather shy and withdrawn and didn't say too much. The early indications were that she was not going to do too well at all and that she was going do need special attention. It was possibly with your home visits that I began to notice that she began to blossom out and smile more here in the classroom. Lilly doesn't seem to be an unhappy child. It is so sad that some children are so miserable. They never smile. I think Lilly has changed some. She's different now in that she is more verbal and she talks to the other childeen in the classroom more than she did last fall. Well, for Brad, he has some good manners. I don't have to get after him to sit down or be quiet the way I do with Frank and Laura. You know, I have to speak less to Lilly and Brad than I do to Frank and Laura. Brad and Lilly aren't the kind that like to take over the way that Frank and Laura do. Brad is very quiet. He doesn't

> say too much but seems to enjoy school. But he has been out of school so much this year because of his asthma. I hope that doesn't continue in the next years for he could fall behind that way.

As Mrs. Caplow's final communication of the school year with the home of the children, she would give each child the progress report for the semester which the family was to keep. Besides her comments at the end of the school year to each of the parents, there was also on the report her last evaluation of the performance of the child. The following is the evaluation of Mrs. Caplow for each of the four children discussed at some length in this chapter.

Brad:

Brad received eight "Y" markings on his card and seven "S" markings. The seven "S" markings were in the following areas: I obey school rules; I am a good listener; I follow directions; I finish my work; I speak so that others can hear and understand me; I am making satisfactory progress in readiness activities; and I take part in counting and other number activities. Mrs. Caplow's comments to Brad's mother on the rear of the card read, "Brad will need more work on the readiness level. Please continue to help him whenever possible."

Lilly:

Lilly received twelve "Y" and three "S" markings. The three "S" evaluations were for: I show improvement in the way I tell experiences and stories; I am making satisfactory progress in reading readiness activities; and I take part in counting and other number activities. The comments to the mother read, "Lilly has continued to improve. Please encourage her whenever possible."

Frank:

Frank received fifteen "Y" markings and also a gold star. Mrs. Caplow's comments to Frank's parents read, "Frank has satisfactorily completed the kindergarten program. It has been a pleasure to have him in the class."

Laura:

Fifteen "Y" markings were on Laura's report as was a gold star. Mrs. Caplow's comments; "Laura's determination is indeed an asset and should always keep her near the top. She is a wonderful little girl."

It has been the major objective of this chapter to detail over the course of the academic year in an essentially ethnographic manner, the impact of social organization and the processes of socialization on the educational experience of a group of kindergarten children at Attucks School. In addition to the presentation of direct accounts of the classroom milieu, including activity, interaction, and attitude characteristics, a series of interpretive asides were interspersed in the chapter. These asides sought to clarify concerns of pedagogy as well as those related to mechanisms of socialization and social organization. Two different levels of analysis were employed in the chapter, both that of the classroom in toto and also the micro-analysis of the classroom experience of four children. The four children intensively observed were selected by the teacher, with two designated as "doing well" and two "doing poorly." It was noted that the classroom experience was significantly different for the two groups of children based in large measure upon the impact of differential expectations and treatment of the teacher.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST GRADE: THE PATTERN REMAINS

Though Mrs. Caplow had anticipated that twelve of the children from the kindergarten class would attend the first grade in Attucks School, eighteen of the children were assigned during the summer to the first grade classroom in the main building. The remaining ten children were either assigned to a new school a few blocks north of Attucks School, to a branch school to handle the overflow from the main building, or had moved away. I had known Mrs. Logan, the teacher in the first grade classroom from the previous year. She had more than twenty years of experience in the St. Louis public school system, and all the schools at which she had taught in the city were more than 90 percent black. During the 1968-1969 school year, four informal visits were made to the first grade classroom in Attucks School.[1] No visits were made to either the branch school or to the new school nearby to visit with children from the kindergarten class who had left their original school. During my visits to the first grade room, the teacher was always very pleasant. Whenever I visited, she would immediately turn her attention to having the children I had known from the previous year show me their school papers and projects. I kept only brief notes of the short conversations that I had with Mrs. Logan and did not conduct formal observations on the activities of the children in the class.

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[1] During the 1968-1969 school year, I was unable to conduct formal observations in the first grade classroom due to a teaching appointment out of the city.

During the first grade school year there were thirty-three children in the classroom. In addition to the eighteen from the kindergarten class, there were nine children repeating the first grade and also six new children who had not previously attended the school. Of the eighteen children who came from the kindergarten class to the first grade in the main building, seven were from the previous year's Table 1, six from Table 2 and five from Table 3. Both Laura and Lilly were among them.

In the first grade classroom, Mrs. Logan had also divided the children into three groups. Those children whom she placed at 'Table A' had all been Table 1 students in kindergarten. No student who in kindergarten had sat at Table 2 or 3 was placed at Table A in the first grade. Instead, all the students from Table 2 and 3--with one exception were placed together at Table B. At the third table which Mrs. Logan called Table C, she placed the nine children repeating the grade plus Susan who had sat at Table 3 in the kindergarten class. Of the six new students, Mrs. Logan placed two at Table A and four at Table C. Thus the totals for the individual tables were nine students at Table A, ten at Table B and fourteen at Table C. Figure 7.1 depicts the classroom arrangement for the first grade of Mrs. Logan.

The seating arrangement that began in the kindergarten as a result of the teacher's definition of which children possessed or lacked the necessary characteristics for success in the public school system emerged in the first grade as a caste phenomenon in which there was absolutely no mobility upward. That is, of those children whom Mrs. Caplow had perceived as potential "failures" and thus seated at either Table 2

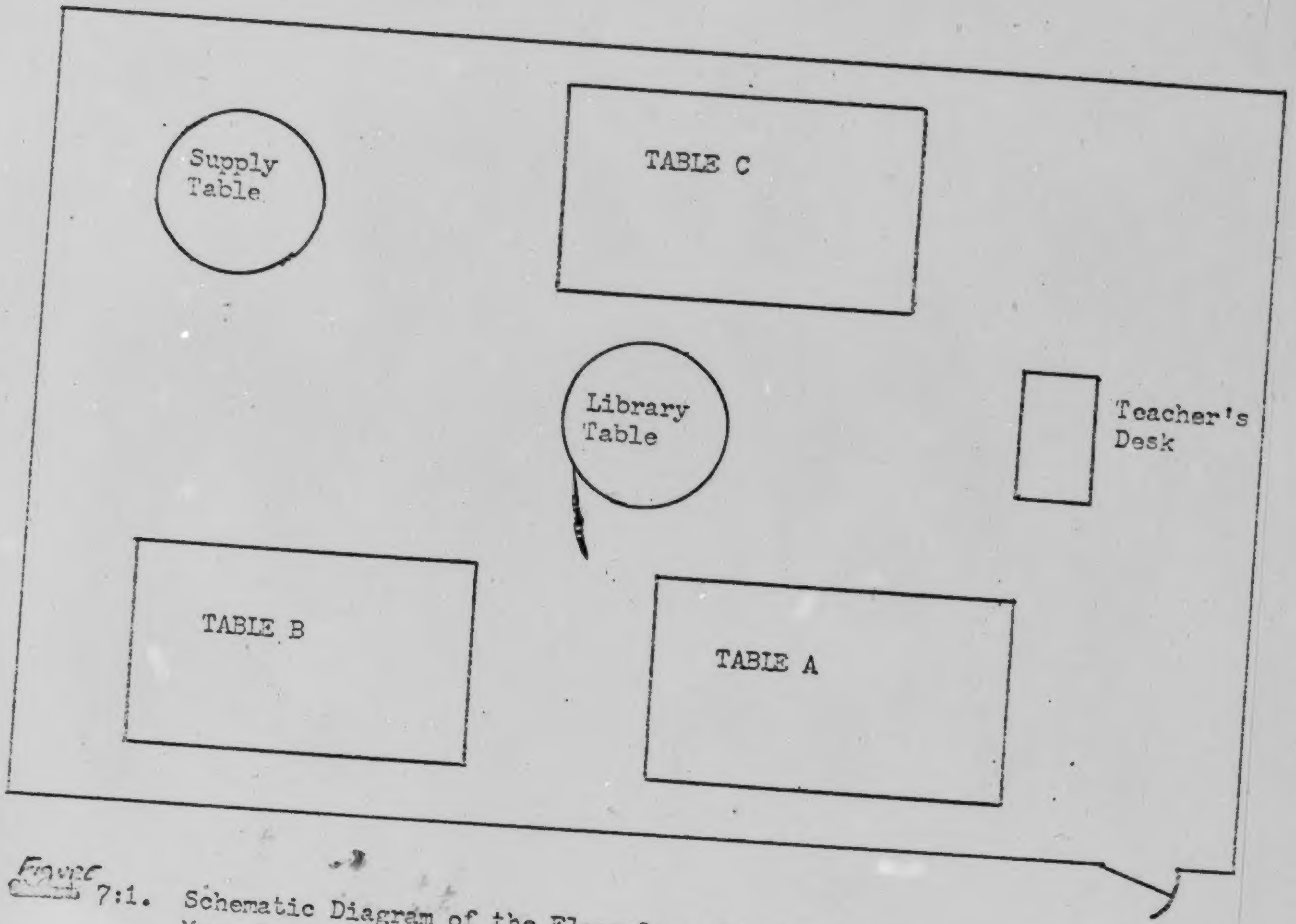

Figure 7:1. Schematic Diagram of the Floorplan of the First Grade classroom of Mrs. Logan, 1968-1969.

or 3 in kindergarten, not one in the first grade was assigned to the table of "fast learners." The initial label given to the children by the kindergarten teacher had been reinforced in her interaction with those students throughout the school year. When the children were ready to pass into the first grade, their ascribed labels from the teacher as either a success or failure assumed objective dimensions. The first grade teacher no longer had to rely on merely the presence or absence of certain behavioral and attitudinal characteristics to ascertain who would do well and who would do poorly in the class. Objective records of the "readiness" material completed by the children during the kindergarten year were available to her. Thus, upon the basis of what material the various tables in kindergarten had completed, Mrs. Logan could form her first grade tables for reading and arithmetic.

The kindergarten teacher's disproportionate allocation of her teaching time resulted in the Table 1 students having completed more material at the end of the school year than the remainder of the class. As a result, the Table 1 groups from kindergarten remained intact in the first grade, as they were the only students prepared for the first grade reading and arithmetic material. Those children from Tables 2 and 3 had not yet completed all the material from kindergarten and had to spend the first weeks of school finishing kindergarten level lessons. The criteria established by the school system as to what constituted the successful completion of the necessary readiness materials to begin first grade lessons ensured that the Table 2 and 3 students could not be placed at Table A in the first grade. The only children from the kindergarten who had completed the necessary material were those from Table 1 who had been defined by the teacher as "successful" students and then taught most often because the remainder of the class "had no idea of what was going on."

It would be somewhat misleading, however, to indicate that there was absoltuely no mobility for any of the students between the seating assignments in kindergarten and again in the first grade. Nine of the fourteen students at Table C in the first grade were students repeating the grade with the same teacher they had had in the previous year and who had evaluated them as unprepared for second grade material. As a tentative explanation of Mrs. Logan's rationale for the development of the Table C seating assignments, she may have assumed that within her class there existed one group of students who possessed so very little of the necessary behavioral patterns and attitudes necessary for success that they had to be kept separate from the rest of the class. (Note on the seating chart that this group is on the opposite side of the room from the other two groups of students.) The Table C students were spoken of by the first grade teacher in a manner reminiscent of the way in which Mrs. Caplow spoke of the Table 3 students the previous year.

Students who were placed at Table A appeared to be perceived by Mrs. Logan as students who not only possessed the criteria necessary for future success, both in the public school system and in the larger society, but who also had proved themselves capable in academic work. These students appeared to possess the characteristics considered most essential for "middle class" success by the teacher. Though those students at Table B lacked many of the "qualities" and characteristics of the Table A students, they were not perceived as lacking them to the degree of those placed at Table C.

A basic tenet in explaining the rationale of Mrs. Logan's seating arrangement is, of course, that she shared a similar reference group and set of values as to what constituted "success" as did Mrs. Caplow in the kindergarten class. Both women were well-educated, were employed in a professional occupation, lived in middle income neighborhoods, were active in a number of charitable and civil rights organizations, and expressed strong religious convictions and moral standards. Both were educated in the city teacher's college and had also attained graduate degrees. Neither of the two women had children. Their backgrounds as well as the manner in which they described the various groups of students in their classes would indicate that they shared a similar reference group and set of expectations as to what constituted the indices of the "successful" student.

CHAPTER VIII

SECOND GRADE: THE LABELS ARE ADDED

I. INTRODUCTION

With the passing of each year, the number of children from Mrs. Caplow's kindergarten class who remained in school and made satisfactory progress through the grades dwindled. Of the thirty children who were in the kindergarten, and the eighteen in Mrs. Logan's first grade class, only ten came to Mrs. Benson's second grade class at the beginning of the 1969-70 school year. Of the eight who did not come to the class, three were held back in Mrs. Logan's class to repeat the first grade and the remaining five moved from the school district. Both Laura and Lilly were in Mrs. Benson's class.

For Mrs. Benson, the second grade teacher, this is only her second year teaching. During the previous school year she taught third grade at Attucks School. Thus, 1969-70 marks her first time teaching second grade. She graduated from the city teachers' college in June of 1967. She is married and has no children. She is living at the home of her parents while her husband, a member of the armed forces, is overseas. On several occasions she expressed her pleasure at being able to teach at Attucks School as opposed to one of the older schools in the city. Since the new graduate from the city teacher's college has no choice in determining her first teaching assignment, Mrs. Benson commented that she "lives right" when I asked how she came to Attucks School. One of her very close friends from college is also a teacher at the same school.

II THE FIRST DAYS

September 4: The First Day of School

On the first day of school, the children no longer come to the classroom with their mothers to register. Registration is done prior to the beginning of the school year, or if a child comes to school after the year has begun, registration takes place at the school office. Thus, when the second grade students come to the classroom for the first time on the morning of September 4, they were without their parents. Figure 8.1 provides a diagram of the floorplan of the classroom which was extablished before the children came to the school and remained permanent at least through the first semester.[1] On the bulletin boards in the classroom when the children entered were a variety of materials. On the left rear board was red schoolhouse constructed from construction paper. The door to the school was to serve as the monthly calendar for the class and thus was divided into five rows of seven squares apiece. Above the school house were the words "School house." On the right rear board was a large caterpillar made from construction paper, and below it was a long poem taken from a magazine and entitled, "The Caterpillar." The front left board was reserved for "Reminders." This board was essentially for the use of the teacher, and tacked on it were several pieces of paper listing the teacher's playground supervision dates, the dates that the audio-visual material is available to the class, the dates that the nurse is present at the school and the first week's lunchroom menu. The final board on the front right contained "Fall Surprises." Below these

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[1] Contact with the school and the individual class has not been sustained past the end of the first semester, January, 1970.

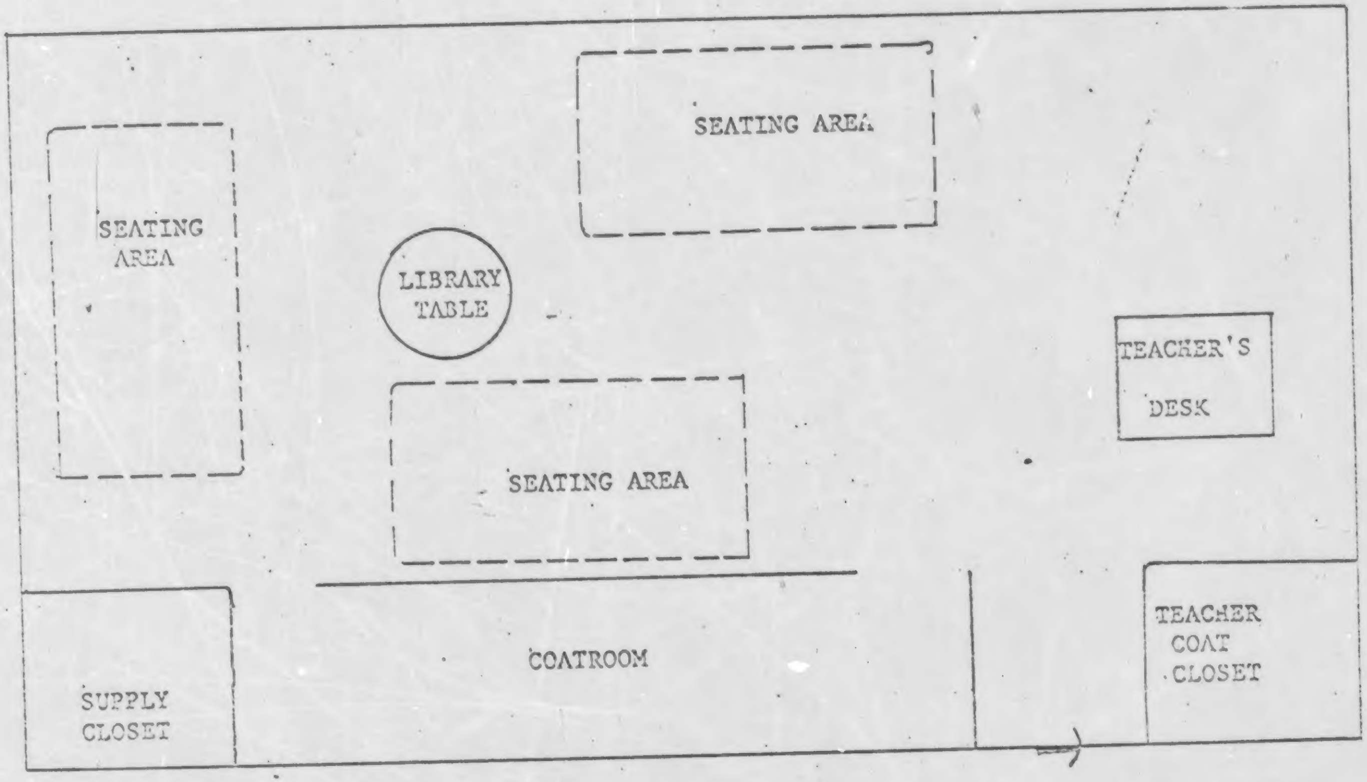

Figure 8.1. Schematic Diagram of the Floorplan of the Second Grade Classroom of Mrs. Benson, 1969-70.

two words were tacked on the board five leaves of various colors.

Mrs. Benson entered the room at 8:23 and soon after her came five boys. They did not speak but went to sit at one of the desks. Mrs. Benson said, "Good morning," but the boys did not respond. She repeated her greeting, but this time in a firm voice. Several of the boys then responded with a "Good morning." Laura entered shortly with Mary, wearing what appeared to be a new bright yellow raincoat with an umbrella of the same color. She went immediately to the coatroom to hand her raincoat. The five boys and Mary then folllwed Laura into the coatroom. When the bell rang at 8:30 a.m., there were fifteen children present in the room. Tom came in shortly and one of the five boys called out, "Look that ol' fool. He go got a haircut." Tom responded that he did get a haircut and now his head is wet. Another teacher, unknown to me, came into the room and began speaking with Mrs. Benson. She pointed out one of the girls seated near Laura, and mentioned to Mrs. Benson that she taught this girl during the last school year. Mrs. Benson motioned for the child to come to the front and the unknown teacher patted the child several times on the head. The child then went back and sat down.

At 8:40 a.m., there were twenty children in the room. Eleven girls were sitting on the right side of the room, seven boys and one girl on the left and one boy in the rear. Among the girls on the right side of the room, the seats closest to the teacher were occupied by Laura, Mary, Marcia and Virginia. Mrs. Benson began calling the name of each child who had been pre-registered for the class, and as each name was called, that child came to her desk for a name tag. As the tags were passed out to the children, the sex differentiation in the seating arrangement became complete. Carol who had been seated on the left with the boys went to right side with the girls after receiving her tag. Earl who had been seated in the rear by himself went to the left side when he received his tag. Thus, on the left side of the room were seated all eight boys, and on the right were all twelve girls. Of the eight boys, four were familiar. Earl, Tom, and Joe had been in Mrs. Caplow's kindergarten class, while the fourth was Nick, the brother of Lilly. Among the girls, six were recognized: Mary, Laura, Marcia, Virginia, Carol, and Anne. The seventh girl who had been in Mrs. Caplow's class, but who was absent the first day is Lilly. Thus, ten students from Mrs. Caplow's class came to Mrs. Benson's class two years later: seven girls and three boys.

Having passed out the tags to the children, Mrs. Benson introduced herself to the class:

> She says softly, "My name is Mrs. Benson. What is my name?" The children repeat her name. She continues, "I guess I will write that on the board." She then writes M-r-s. and says, "That's an abbreviation for Mrs." She writes her last name and turns back to the class. "How many children are glad to be back in school?" All the children raise their hands. She asks, "How many children had a good summer?" All the children except for Nick raise their hands. She continues, "How many children had a very good vacation?" Few of the children raise their hands. "I am going to give all of you an opportunity to tell of your exciting summer vacations."

Mrs. Benson asked Tom to come to the front of the class to tell of his summer vacation. Before Tom could begin, Mrs. Benson told him to return to his seat because she forgot to collect money from the children for lunch and for spending at the noon hour. Tom sat down and fifteen minutes later when she returned to the vacations of the children, she began with Joe. Tom was never called back to the front. Joe began to tell of his experience flying on an airplane and the teacher asked him to speak louder.

The school public address system had been on since 8:15 a.m. playing popular music into each of the rooms. Robert Goulet was presently singing the theme song from Camelot.

When Joe finished, Mrs. Benson called on John who came to the front of the room and described his trip to Memphis where he went to a fair and rode a "black widow." Mrs. Benson saw Curt speaking with Nick. Looking at Curt, she said in a firm voice, "Curt, what was it that John rode at the fair?" Curt did not respond and bowed his head. She continued, "John, tell Curt what it was that you rode at the fair." John repeated that he rode a black widow. After several other boys were called to the front, Mrs. Benson stated that she believed a girl "should have a chance." She called on Mary who related how she made $25.00 modeling one evening for a television fashion show held at one of the large shopping plazas in the city. She also told of a large birthday party that she had. Mrs. Benson asked if she invited Laura to the party and Mary replied "No." Laura was asked to the front where she told of having taken swimming lessons during the summer at the Y.W.C.A. Mrs. Benson asked if any other child took swimming lessons and the whole class raised their hands. Mrs. Benson asked how many were at the "Y" with Laura and no one raised his hand.

The first incident of what was to be a familiar pattern of behavior in the room occurred when one of the boys at the front of the room spoke to Mrs. Benson instead of towards the class. Mrs. Benson responded by using a very strong inflection of Black American English as she sought to have the child turn and face the class. The only time in which Black American English was to be utilized by the teacher throughout the semester was when she was disciplining or attempting to control the behavior of the children. When Mrs. Benson either rewarded or merely gave information or directions to the class, she always utilized Standard American English. But clearly associated with her exercise of control and discipline over the children was her use of Black American English.

> Lou is asked to come to the front of the class. He begins speaking to the teacher. His back is nearly completely to the class. Mrs. Benson says, with heavy inflection, "Boy, who you talkin' to? Look at the rest that class when you talk, not at me." Lou then turns and begins to tell of a trip to Mississippi.

Mrs. Benson's first encounter with Nick, who was to play an increasingly clearly defined role in the class, occurred after most everyone else had had a chance to come to the front and relate their summer experience.

> Mrs. Benson says, "Nick what did you do this summer?" Nick makes no response, but grins. Mrs. Benson asks again, but directed to the class, "What did Nick do this summer?" One girl comments that Nick came to her house. A boy comments that they played ball together. Mrs. Benson turns back to Nick and says, "Well, Nick, tell us about your playing ball." Nick is the only child to date who has not been asked to come to the front of the room to tell of his experiences. He is seated at his desk. Nick responds to the question of the teacher in a very soft voice, "I play ball wit' my brother." Mrs. Benson asks who else Nick played ball with during the summer and Nick responds, "Nuthin."

The first apparent sign of interest by the majority of the children in any classroom occurrence during the morning occurred when one girl had commented that she did nothing during the summer. Mrs. Benson asked if she even watched television and the girl commented that she did. Mrs. Benson then asked her what significant event had occurred during July and another girl in the class called out, "Go to the moon." Mrs. Benson responded, "Yes, who went to the moon?" A boy responds, "Astronauts." At This point a number of boys on the left side of the room began to talk among themselves about the events of the moon landing. Though I could not hear all that was said, I did hear the words "rockets," "radar," "moon landing," "rocketship," and "dust." The boys were quite enthusiastic over the event and had generated a good deal of discussion among themselves. Mrs. Benson raised her voice and said, "Carolyn, what did you do this summer?" The talk among the boys over the moon landing immediately ceased.

A second interactional pattern that was present in the kindergarten class and appeared again in the first hour of the second grade school year was the teacher's failure to correct an incorrect response. On later occasions, the incorrect response was simply left as is while at other times, it was rewarded by the teacher as correct.

> Mrs. Benson tells the class that they are to draw something that they did during the summer. She asks Joe what it is he is going to draw and he responds, "Summer." She then asks Mary, who responds, "I gonna draw what I did this summer." She then passes out a box of crayons to each member of the class with the admonition to handle them carefully for they will have to last the entire school year.

September 5

On the second day of school, there were sixteen girls and nine boys present. All the boys again sat as a group on the right side of the room, while the girls again grouped on the left. All the girls, that is, except for Lilly, who sat in the rear of the room by herself. Shortly another girl joined Lilly, but Mrs. Benson soon took her across the hall to the first grade room instead of the second grade. Lilly remained by herself throughout the morning period. After the children had all taken a seat, Mrs. Benson asked the class, "Does everyone know the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag?" All but five of the children raised their hands. She then asked, "Does anyone not know the Pledge?" No one raises a hand.

She continued, "If you know the Pledge, hold up your right hand." Lilly along with six other children held up their left hands. Mrs. Benson then asked, "What do we do to get ready to say the Pledge?" Laura responded, "We stand." Mrs. Benson said, "Yes. Let's everyone stand." She told the children to put their right hands over their hearts, and she walked through the room to see if the children had their correct hands over their hearts. She passed Lilly who had her left hand over her heart and said, "O.K., that's good."

After collecting milk and lunch money, Mrs. Benson asked Laura to take it to the main office. During the time that the money was being collected, Lilly had her head on her desk and appeared quite tired. Mrs. Benson began to call the names of each of the children to come to the front of the room for their name tag. Lilly did not go unnoticed as she walked to the front for her tag.

> Mrs. Besnon calls Lilly's name. Lilly begins to walk towards the front of the room. Several of the boys see that she has no buttons on the back of her dress and that she is wearing a dirty white teeshirt. The boys begin to laugh. Lilly looks at them, stares, and says nothing. At the teacher's desk, she picks up the wrong name tag and the teacher says to her in a firm voice, "Lilly, is that your name tag?" Lilly makes no response and her brother Nick comes to the front of the room, takes the name tag out of her hand. He then picks up the correct tag and gives it to her. The teacher then takes the tag out of her hand and pins it on her dress. She is the only child for whom the teacher pins on the tag.

Mrs. Besnon, having passed out all the tags, left the room momentarily. When she returned she noticed a leaf on her desk. She said, "Who brought me the leaf?" Mary responded, "Me." Mrs. Benson replied, "Who's me?" Mary said, "I'm me." The teacher responded, "you're not me, you are Mary." Mary made no response. Mrs. Benson then turned to the class and said, "This morning, I want to see how many of you can count to 100." Many of the children raised their hands and cried out, "Me, me!" Mrs. Benson said, I don't hear anyone who says 'me,me.' I only hear silent hands." Laura was then called upon to begin counting to 100. While the children were counting, Lilly again had her head on her desk. She appeared asleep, though I believe that she was not. She raised her head when her brother Nick was called upon to count from 90 to 100. Nick said, "Ninety," and then grinned. He said no more and Lilly put down her head.

> Mrs. Benson then says, "All right, now I'm going to see who can write their numbers from 1 to 100. Who in the room can write their numbers?" Lilly raises her head and her hand. Mrs. Benson calls on Lilly to come to the front and begin writing on the blackboard from 1 to 10. Lilly walks very hesitantly to the front staring at the boys on the left side of the room who had laughed at her previously. They began laughing at her again. The teacher, inflecting her voice in B.A.E., says, "Go on, girl." Lilly begins to write the one very high on the blackboard. The teacher erases it and tells her to write lower. Lilly then writes the numeral 1 lower on the board. She steps back for the teacher to see it and the boys begin to laugh. She steps back to the board and begins the 2. She makes the top half of the 2 and pauses. She does not draw the line from left to right. The teacher asks if she would like to go and look and returns to the board. She picks up the chalk but does not complete the number. Nick begins to laugh. Mrs. Benson turns to Nick and says in a firm voice, "Boy, be quiet. That you sister. Who in the class can help Lilly finish the number?" Several of the children say, "Me, me." Mrs. Benson replies, "I can't see anyone who says 'me'." The children are quiet and Mrs. Benson calls Mary to help Lilly. Mary completes the 2 and both girls sit down.

When the first eight numbers had been written on the board, Mrs. Benson asked the class if any of the numbers were wrong. Nick held up his hand, but when Mrs. Benson called on him to tell her the incorrect number, he made no verbal response and only grinned. After each number, Mrs. Benson placed a comma. She asked the class what the name of the mark was that she had made behind each of the numbers. One child said, "Set marks." Mrs. Benson replied that they are not set marks and asks for other suggestions. Other children callled out in unison, "Check marks." Mrs. Benson replied, "No, they are called commas, but we will talk more about that later." She then asked Carol to come to the front and continue writing numbers.

After the children had written to 100 on the blackboard, she informed them that she wanted each of them individually to write the numbers between 1 and 100 on a sheet of paper at their desks.

> Mrs. Benson goes to the supply closet and brings out the individual boxes of crayons that the children had been given the previous day. She calls the name of each of the children who had been present on the first day and they come to her for their box of crayons. She only passes out crayons to the children who were present on the first day. When finished, she says, "Now, you can print your numbers in red or black. Print your numbers in red or black. Class, what colors can you print your numbers with?" The children respond, "Red or black." She asks again, "Class, what colors can you print your numbers with?" The class responds as before. Again she asks, "With what two colors can you print your numbers?" They respond, "Red or black." She replied, "Use only red or black." Two of the girls begin to talk softly about the assignment. One girl asks Virginia, "Did she tell us to draw picture?" Virginia replies, "No, you girl, you dumb. She say to draw somethin' else." The children begin work on printing their numbers and only after Mrs. Benson begins walking among the students to determine their performance does she realize that five students are without crayons. She then gives crayons to this group, which includes Lilly.

The method utilized by Mrs. Besnon to give instructions to the class was to become a familiar part of the class routine. The repetition of the instructions three, four, or five times accompanied nearly every set of directions related to classroom academic activities. When the children had spent twenty minutes writing their numbers, Mrs. Benson passed to the class an exercise sheet in which numbers were to be written in smaller groupings. The paper had three lines through it. The first section was for the name, the second for the printing of the numbers 1 through 10, and the third to draw the number of "sticks" equal to each of the numbers in the second section. After telling the children several times that their name was to be placed in the top "box," she then began the instructions for the numbers.

> "Now I want you to write numbers from 1 to 10 in the second box. Class, in which box do you write the numbers from 1 to 10?" The children respond, "Second." She asks, "In which box will you write your numbers from 1 to 10?" The class repeats its first answer. She says, "You are going to write the numbers from 1 to 10 in which box?" The class responds, "Second." I note that three girls have already begun to write the numbers in the first box.

111. THE EMERGENCE OF CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION

September 8.

On the third day of school, Mrs. Benson established the permanent seating assignements for the class. The class was divided into three groups. In the second grade class, all except two of those who had sat at Table A in the first grade were placed together on the left side of the room. At the rear of the room was the second group of students. These were students who had sat at Tables B and C during the first grade. Two students, however, who had sat at Table B in the first grade were not placed among those in the rear group. Rather, they were among the third group on the right side of the room which consisted of six students repeating the second grade plus two others who had been returned from the third grade.

I asked Mrs. Benson why the two children (Earl and Carol) who had sat at Table A in the first grade were placed in the middle group in the second grade. She responded that she had placed them there in order that someone in the group "would be able to give the correct answer." She stated that she had very little confidence in the remainder of the students in the middle group and that she did not "want to waste time teaching them when no one would respond." Thus two children who should have been among those at the first table are placed at the middle table to fulfill the teacher's need for satisfaction as she teaches. The same question was posed to her as to why the two children (Nick and Marcia) who had sat at Tables B and C were placed among the third group. She commented that she had been "warned" about Nick by the first grade teacher and had decided that the "safest place for him was somewhere he could not bother those wanting to learn." The second child placed in the third group was Marcia. I asked about Marcia and the teacher responded with essentially the same rationale as was used for Carol and Earl. She stated that she knew teaching those in the third group would mostly be a "waste of time" and that she wanted "at least one student in the bunch who could give a correct answer." Nine students were assigned to the first group by the window on the left side of the room, eight assigned to the group in the rear of the room, and ten assigned to the group along the right wall of the classroom. Of the ten children remaining from the original kindergarten class, six were in the first group, three in the middle group, and one in the last.

By the time the children came to the second grade classroom, their seating arrangement appeared no longer to be based upon expectations of the teacher as to how the individual student would perform. Rather the assignment of the seats appeared to be based on past performance of the child. Available to the teacher when she formulated the seating arrangement were grade sheets from both kindergarten and first grade, I.Q. scores, a listing of the occupation of the parents who were employed, reading scores on a series of diagnostic tests, evaluations from the speech teacher and also the informal evaluations from the kindergarten and first grade teachers.

When asked as to what was the single most crucial source of information that the teacher utilized as she formulated the various groups she replied that it was the reading scores indicating the level of performance of the students at the end of the first grade. She indicated that she attempted to divide the class according to "natural divisions" in the reading scores. The group by the windows on the left side of the room were designated as the "highest" reading group in the class, the group to the rear of the room designated as the "middle" reading group and those on the right side of the class were labeled as the "lowest" reading group. The highest and middle reading groups were assigned to begin reading second grade material while those repeating the grade or else returned from the third grade to the second were designated to begin with material that the teacher indicated was on a first grade level.

Except for those students who were placed in a reading group for the sake of the teacher's desire to have "someone able to give the correct answers," the basic divisions of the class from the previous year remained essentially intact. That is, there was no mobility from Tables B and C to the highest reading group. This is highly similar to the pattern which developed between the kindergarten and first grade. The greatest amount of mobility appears each year to occur for those students who sit at the lowest table. They are, with very few exceptions, always moved in the following grade to a common group status with the middle group from the previous year. Thus, from kindergarten to first grade, Tables 2 and 3 become Table B. From the frist grade to the second, Tables B and C become the middle group at the rear of the room. Each year there appears to be a new group designated by the teacher as least capable and having the less potential for performance, thus forming the lowest group. In the first grade, a new group of students unknown to those from the kindergarten become the Table C students. Likewise, in the second grade, the lowest reading group is comprised of those repeating the grade or deemed unperpared for the third grade and returned. Throughout the three grades in which the children have been, the most stable grouping appears to be among those seated at Table 1, Table A, or highest reading group. The configuration of those who comprise this group has changed very little in three years. Likewise, no one designated for this group by the kindergarten teacher has been transferred out of it in three years except for Carol and Earl. The strongest barrier against mobility during the three grades has been movement into the highest reading group.

As the children entered in the room on September 8th, Mrs. Benson asked them to put their wraps in the coatroom. When she saw Laura enter, she asked if the brown bag that she was carrying contained her lunch. Laura responded, "No, this is for you." Laura handed Mrs. Benson the bag, and after looking inside,the teacher replied, "Oh, you brought us some leaves. How very nice of you." Mrs. Benson took the leaves and placed them on her desk. (Note the contrast in the way the teacher received the leaves from Laura and those Mary brought to class on September 5.) When the children were all seated, Mrs. Benson asked them to rise for the Pledge of Allegiance. She noted that three children including Nick had their left hands over their hearts. She helped them switch to their right hands. But by the end of the pledge, four other children had switched hands and had their left hands over their hearts. When the children were again seated, Lilly put her head down on the desk. Within six minutes after the 8:30 a.m. opening, Mrs. Besnon began a penmanship lesson with the children. This was to be the quickest observed movement into academic material of the class during the entire semester. The average length of time spent by the teacher and class in the morning orgnaizational chores was slightly more than twenty minutes.

When Mrs. Benson had passed the paper for the lesson to the children, she instructed them to write their first name at the top of the page.

> Amy says to Mrs. Benson, "Girl,should I write my last name?" Mrs. Benson raises her voice quite noticeably and says, "Amy, do I call you girl or do I call you Amy?" Amy replies, "Amy." Mrs. Benson says, "All right, then you call me by my name. What is my name?" Amy says, "Mrs. Benson." Mrs. Benson responds, "O.K., now what is it you want?"

One of the standard directions that Mrs. Benson gave to the class for each paper they wrote was to place a "heading" at the top of the page. The heading was to include the name of the child, the name of the school, and the date. On the front blackboard, Mrs. Benson had written in one corner the word "heading" and below that she printed the word "Name." On the third line is the name of the school and on the fourth the present date. Laura had been placed in charge by Mrs. Benson of correcting the date on the board each morning. As Mrs. Benson continued to give instructions to the class on what to write, the principal began giving school announcements over the public address system. During the time that he spoke, several of the children in the class continued to write on their papers. When the principal finished Mrs. Benson spoke in a harshly inflected voice to Marcia, "Marcia, I didn't tell you to write that yet." Alice calls out, "What she write?" Mrs. Benson replies, "Alice none of your business. But, Marcia, since you have already written it, don't erase it." (I later asked Mrs. Benson what it was that Marcia had written and she replied that it was the word "September.") Laura then finished her heading and showed it to the teacher. Mrs. Benson made a reply to Laura, touched her on the shoulder and Laura returned to her seat.

As the children continued to work on their papers, a new girl was brought into the class by the office secretary. Mrs. Benson interrupted the class to introduce the new student.

> "All right now class, may I have your attention? We have a new girl in our class this morning. Her name is Shirley. Say "Shirley." The children repeat the name. Mrs. Benson continues, "Her name is Shirley. Her name is not "new girl"; her name is not "hey, that new girl." She has a name just like the rest of us. us. Her name is Shirley and she will sit by Carol. Carol, will you show Shirley what we are doing here in the class now?" Mrs. Benson gives Carol a piece of paper and a new pencil for Shirley. Carol immediately begins to show Shirley what the assignment is that the class is presently doing.

During the time that the remainder of the class has been involved in the printing lesson, Nick was coloring on his piece of paper. He had begun to write the heading, but stopped. He took out his crayons and colored for thirty minutes. I walked past his desk and saw that he had been coloring. Apparently, Mrs. Benson had also been aware of his coloring, for when I passed Nick's desk, she asked me to come to her desk at the front of the room. She took from her desk a large blue notebook in which was kept the class registration materials of the children. She opened it to the section containing the materials related to Nick. She pointed to his I.Q. score of 40 and then to both his mental age and his chronological age which were stated at 4.8 and 7.9 years, respectively. She stated in a soft voice that she was going to attempt to have Nick placed in a special education class as soon as possible. She noted that there were several others who she also wanted to place in special education. She called to Curt who was seated in the rear of the room and asked his age. He responded that he is nine. She commented, "He is another one that will have to go." (Note should be made that at this point all of Curt's material from his previous school had not been forwarded to Mrs. Benson. She did not know the results of any of the intelligence or academic tests given to the child. Two weeks later the material was sent from the main office and his I.Q. was listed at 121.) As I stood at the desk with Mrs. Benson, an older girl brought in a sheet for Mrs. Benson to read. When she was finished, she initialed it and asked Laura to take it to the first grade teacher. Laura did so. Mrs. Benson then began to discuss further material that she would like for the children to write on their papers.

September 11.

There continued to be the movement of children in and out of the class. The total number of students in the class now equalled thirty-one. There were twelve students in the highest reading group, ten in the middle group, and nine in the lower group. One child from the lowest group had moved away and the number was thus one less than on Monday, September 8. As the children entered the room after the noon recess, Mrs. Benson stood by the door and continually repeated to the children, "Take your seat." When all the children were seated, she turned out the lights and said, "Your heads are down." She then called the groups one at a time to hang up their wraps.

As the children sat with their heads down, Mrs. Benson began to collect money from those students who wished her to keep it until the end of the school day. As she counted the change brought to the front by Virginia, she heard Mary speaking with Tom. Mrs. Benson looked at Mary and said in a loud voice, "Mary, you are disturbin' someone in the class who is trying to rest." Tom smiled and put down his head. Mary frowned and also put her head down.

Shortly, there occurred an interactional pattern between the teacher and a student that was to increase in frequency throughout the semester. As Mrs. Benson counted the change of another child, she called out, "Who's talkin' there in the back of the room?" Curt held up his hand and pointed at Stephen. Mrs. Benson said to Curt in a very firm voice, "Are you takin' care of him or are you takin' care of yourself?" The teacher began more and more during the semester to ask general questions to the class concerning the behavior of another student. Questions such as "Who's doing all that talking?" "Who's making all that noise?" "Who can't keep his head down?" were frequently asked of the class. The direct interpretation of her questions would imply that she desired an answer. Thus the children would continually point out one of their classmates whom they believed fit the description requested by Mrs. Benson. However, her response to the children informing on one of their peers was not uniform. On some occasions, as the one noted above, she turned on the very child who gave the response. On others, she accepted the "squeal" on the part of the child and then reprimanded the child pointed out by the classmate. As a third alternative, she ignored the response of a child, singling out another in the class. There were occasions when she would ask such a question concerning the behavior of one of the students, and the class would not respond. She would then repeat the question until one child offered a suggestion as to whom was involved.

With the end of the afternoon organizational activities, Mrs. Benson turned on the lights and told those students in the high and middle reading group to continue on the arithmetic lesson that they began before the noon recess. She then instructed the children in the lowest reading group to take out their spelling books for a lesson entitled "Spelling readiness." The lesson consisted of presenting a series of pictures of two objects. The children are to establish whether the two objects within the same picture begin with the same letter.

> The first picture was of a blond boy shown from the shoulders up and also a baseball bat. Mrs. Benson calls on Alice for the answer and Alice responds, "Face and bat. No." Her answer indicated that she did not believe that face and bat began with the same letter. Mrs. Benson looks at Alice and says, "Alice, that is not a face." Alice pauses, looks at the picture and says, "head and bat, no." Mrs. Benson replies, "No Alice, that is not a head and a bat." Another child in the group calls out "Boy." Mrs. Benson said, "Yes. Now what is the correct answer, Alice?" Alice responds, "Boy and bat." "Yes, Alice. That is a boy. That is not a head and it is not a face. It is a boy.
>
> After the sixth series of pictures, Mrs. Benson asks the reading group if they agree with the answer given by one of the girls. Nick indicates that he does not. Mrs. Benson asks Nick why he does not agree and he only smiles. He makes no verbal response to the teacher's question.

After the inappropriate response by Nick, the children on the seventh, eighth, and ninth series of questions begin to call out the answers before Mrs. Benson could select a particular child for the answer. She became quite irritated and said to the group, "Your mouth stays closed unless I call on you." The children remained silent for the following four questions and then began to again call out the answers.

At the end of this lesson, Mrs. Benson asked the entire class to take out a pencil. She then passed to each of them a sheet of lined writing paper. She told the children that she wanted them to write the correct heading for the day at the top of the page. As one child in the low reading group began to print his name, he crushed his paper somewhat. Mrs. Benson observed that the paper was crushed and said in a loud voice to the entire class, "You know, this boy will not get his paper up on the board when we are finished because he's wrinkled it. I am not going to put any wrinkled paper up on this board." As Mrs. Benson turned her attention back to passing out paper to the class, she heard someone talking on the left side of the classroom. She asked, "Who is that?" Mary pointed at Joe and Mrs. Benson then said, "Joe, are you disturbing that row?" Joe frowned and shook his head. He looked back at Mary who was smiling.

Within the class, Mrs. Benson had the policy of not allowing the children to share or borrow from one another. She did not indicate why this was the policy, but an incident during the lesson as the children were beginning to write their heading may give some indication.

> As Mrs. Benson walked back to the blackboard, she noted that Virginia had not begun to write. She says, "Virginia, what are you waiting for?" Virginia replies that

> she had broken her pencil. Mrs. Benson asks the class, "Is there anyone in the class who will loan Virginia a pencil?" Tom raises his hand and indicates that he will loan Virginia a pencil. Mrs. Benson gives him permission to leave his seat and go to the desk of Virginia. On his return to his desk, Mrs. Benson looks directly at Tom and says, "Tom, you make sure you get it back."

There appears to be in her last admonition to Tom the implication that if he does not seek out Virginia for his pencil at the end of the lesson, he will not have it back. There is an element of mistrust implied by Mrs. Benson in this statement in that the children cannot rely on their classmates to return what they have borrowed. Thus the basis for the rule of "no borrowing" may be based on the assumption that the children do not have the integrity to return what they have been loaned. Thus, to avoid the anticipated claims of stolen materials, the materials are simply not exchanged.

Mrs. Benson then continued with the instructions for the children on how to write the heading for their papers.

> After Mrs. Benson finishes writing all the letters of the heading on the board, she begins to walk around the room examining the papers of the children. On several of the papers she erased the incorrect printing of the children and helped them to begin over. With others she simply told them to erase and begin again. As she walked through the room, she continually repeated, "You children must listen." Likewise there were several occurrences of the repetition of instructions. "Now, class, on what line did I say to write the name of the school?" Several of the children respond as before. She asks the question for a third time and more children respond with the same answer. She walks to where I am seated and says with a sigh of resignation, "You know, it takes all day just to get these kids to write their name on the paper. They're so slow." She then turns and again walks among the rows of desks of the children on the left side of the room.

September 12.

On this date was first observed an attempt by the teacher to teach the class as a whole. That is, she did not teach the material according to one group level, but rather to the class as a whole. The following is an account of that episode. It is presented in some detail for it is believed that it brings into clear focus a number of patterns of interaction between the teacher and the students, that had been noted previously both in the kindergarten class and also in the second grade class. The patterns of interaction appear to center on both the discussion of the curriculum material and also on the reality of the "track" system established by the teacher in the classroom.

> Mrs. Benson stands by her desk and asks the class to open their books to Page 8. "Now, class, what do you see?" A number of the children respond, I believe, "horns" (which would be the correct response, though the words sounded more like "homes"). Mrs. Benson continues, "All right, now let's look at the set of horns at the top which are colored red and which have seven horns in it. Laura, which set of horns has seven horns in it?" Laura responds, "The first horns." Mrs. Benson repeats her question to Laura and Laura responds, "The set of seven horns." Mrs. Benson: "Who can help Laura here? Tom, can you?" Tom stands and says, "The horns at the top have seven horns." "Tom, the set of seven horns are where?" asks Mrs. Benson. "At the top," is the reply of Tom. Mrs. Benson: "Well, Tom, there are two sets of horns at the top--one on the left side and one on the right side of the page. Which of these two sets has seven horns?" Tom responds, "The first set above the 7 contains seven red horns." Mrs. Benson says, "Let's label the four sets of red horns: one, two, three, and four." (She holds up her book and points to each of the four sections as she counts.) Tom then says, "Number one has seven red horns." Mrs. Benson tells Tom that she wants his answer in a complete sentence. Tom says, "The first set has seven red horns." Mrs. Benson replies, "very good. Now let's look at numeral eight. Which set of horns contains eight red horns?" Rose is asked and she responds, "The first row right up under the name contains a set of eight horns." Mrs. Benson: "Class, does it have eight horns?" No response from the class. Mrs. Benson says, "Count them." Jim responds, "It has ten." Mrs. Benson: "Yes. Where is the set with eight horns?" Rose says, "The

first set in the second row, right up under the right contains eight horns." Mrs. Benson, "Yes. Lou, can you tell me in a complete sentence where is the set with nine red horns?" Lou responds, "In the fourth row." Mrs. Benson, "Which set is in the fourth row, class?" Several of the children respond that there are blue horns in the fourth row. Mrs. Benson says, "Yes, we are working with the red horns, in the first and second row. Lou, where is a set of nine horns?" Lou makes no response and Liza calls out, "The second, wait . . ." Mrs. Benson says, "Can anyone help Liza?" Laura responds that she can and Mrs. Benson then calls on her for the answer. Laura says, "The second set in the second row has nine red horns." Mrs. Benson does not respond to this correct response as such, but says, "You know, I have shown you another way to say your answer." The first circle is the first set; the second circle is the second set; the third circle is the third set; and the fourth circle is the fourth set. Now, who can tell me which set contains the nine red horns? Curt?" Curt responds with the correct answer. Mrs. Benson: "Yes, the fourth set contains the nine red horns. Now, who sees the set with the ten red horns?" There is no response from the class. Mrs. Benson: "There's only one set left. Where is it, Diane?" Diane: "The nine horns." Mrs. Benson (impatiently): "We are not even on the nine horns. Carol?" Carol responds, "The first row." Mrs. Benson, "Not rows, sets. Who can help Carol? Orlando? Orlando says, "The red that up at the top has nine red horns." Mrs. Benson: "We are not even on nine, we are on ten. Now which set contains ten red horns." Mrs. Benson instructs the class to count the number of horns in the first set. She asks if there are ten horns in the set and Laura responds that there are only seven. Mrs. Benson says, "See, there are only seven, Tom." Tom says, as if he were guessing, "Oh, I mean the second set." Mrs. Benson says, "O.K." She appears extremely anxious to complete the lesson. She instructs the class to look at the four sets of blue horns on the lower half of the page. She asks who knows where is the set of seven blue horns. Diane responds, "The first set of red blue horns contains seven red blue horns." Mrs. Benson responds, "Yes, the first set contains seven blue horns. All right now, what number do we want after seven? Look at the four words at the bottom of the page. The first says seven. What is the word next to it? What does it say? Curt?" Curt responds, "Nine." Mrs. Benson replies, "Does nine come after seven?" Seven in the class say, "No." Mrs. Benson: "So what do we want, Laura?" Laura responds, "We want the set of eight blue horns." Mrs.

> Benson asks Laura if she knows which set contains the eight blue horns and she responds correctly that it is the fourth set." Mrs. Benson then asks Nick if he knows the number that begins with an "n" and comes after the number eight. Nick makes no response. Mrs. Benson then asks Virginia who correctly identifies the nine and where the set of nine horns are located. Joyce does the same for the set of ten horns and the lesson ends abruptly.

The intent in presenting this lesson number sets taught by Mrs. Benson is to illustrate within the context of one lesson many of the patterns of interaction discussed to date. The following patterns of interaction appear to be present in this lesson: The teacher's reliance on children at the first table for answers when others fail; the teacher's failing to reward a correct response; the teacher's rewarding an incorrect response; the teacher's designating a correct response as incorrect (the complete sentence is asked to be repeated as a complete sentence); the children at the table of highest reading level verbalizing their awareness of being "smart"; and the teacher's placing an emphasis on immediate response, not allowing a student to pause before giving a response.

September 15.

As the observational period began, Mrs. Benson was teaching reading to the group on the left side of the room. The remainder of the class was to be doing arithmetic, though the assignments for the two groups involved in the arithmetic were not similar. The group on the right was working from a first grade book while those in the rear were working in a second grade book. Mrs. Benson was having the group with the highest reading level read from the text Come Along. During the course of this reading lesson, what may be interpreted as secondary learning occurred with those supposedly involved in the arithemtic lesson. Mrs. Benson sat with her back to the two groups assigned the arithmetic lessons. She was seated in such a way that she looked directly towards the windows. The group in the rear was to her left and to her rear while the group on the right side of the room was directly behind her. As the lesson from Come Along progressed, Mrs. Benson would occasionally stop and ask the group questions over the material that they had just completed. (They would read one or two pages and then stop for questions.) As Mrs. Benson asked questions of those in the highest reading group, an average of five or six children from the other two groups would consistently raise their hands, even though Mrs. Benson could not see them. I heard them on several occasions call out the correct answer, though they did not have the book in front of them. They had listened to the children and the teacher read the various short stories in the book and then retained what they had heard. Their learning and retention of the material occurred without the benefit of teacher-student interaction and without the benefit of the visual stimulus of being able to read from the book. Many of the children would stop periodically in their arithmetic assignment to listen to the teacher and the group reading from the book. One girl, Shirley, made no pretense of doing arithmetic. She closed her book, put it away, and sat with a cleared desk listening to Mrs. Benson and the reading group. The reading lesson was interrupted as the nurse entered and explained that she would like to check the scalps of the children for possible ringworm infection.

A second interruption occurred within the classroom a few minutes after the departure of the nurse. The office secretary entered the room with a new student for the class. She brought a series of papers with her, several of which she left and others which Mrs. Benson signed and the secretary took with her as she left. The students immediately began to whisper in a low voice among themselves about the new student. All the children had ceased their work and were looking at the new student; all that is except Lilly who had her head down and appeared extremely tired. Mrs. Benson looked at the class and said, "You got work to do. Get to it." One girl in the highest reading group, Virginia, is heard commenting to Rose, another girl in the same group, "He a big boy, ain't he?" Rose responds, "Sure enough, he is." Having read through the papers brought by the secretary, Mrs. Benson came and stood with the new student in front of her desk. "Class, we have a new boy in our class today. His name is Hal. What is his name?" The class responded, "Hal." Mrs. Benson asked the question again and the class again responded with his first name. She continued:

> Boys and girls, what was the name of our other new student today? The students make no response. Mrs. Benson: "Audrey, what is the name of the new girl who came today? She is sitting right behind you!" Audrey makes no response. Mrs. Benson replies, "Well, her name is Trish. Say Trish." The class repeats the name. "What is the name of the new girl who came to our class today, Class?" asks Mrs. Benson again. The class repeats the name. Mrs. Benson then asks for the name of the new boy just introduced and the class responds correctly. Mrs. Benson then takes Hal to the rear of the room, shows him his seat and introduces him to the four students seated nearest to him. She asks Curt to sharpen a pencil for Hal and to show him what lesson the class is presently doing. She then goes back to the highest reading group, sits down, and says in a resigned voice, "O.K., let's try to do it again."

At the end of the reading lesson, Mrs. Benson had the children go to the coatroom for their coats to prepare for recess. The girls were called first to get their coats and then to line up two by two at the doorway. They were called upon group by group beginning with the highest reading group on the left. After the girls were all in line she called the boys on mass. She did not specify for them to come by group.

> When the boys reach the line, she calls to them rather harshly, "Boys, you better stop runnin' your mouths and get off that wall. Quit leanin' on that wall and stand up straight." Mary then calls out, "Tom is a girl 'cause he didn't get up when the rest of the boys did." Laura joins in and says,"Curt a girl too, he so slow that he not get up with the boys. Mrs. Benson, did you know Curt a girl? He wanna come stand with us." Neither of the boys nor the teacher make any comment. The teacher then dismisses the class for recess.

When the children had all left the room, I asked Mrs. Benson what options there were for the teacher during the recess periods. She commented that if the teacher does not have duty on the playground during the recess period, she may either stay in her room or go to the teacher's lounge for coffee or hot chocolate. She suggested we go to the lounge. On the way to the lounge she brought up the subject of Nick. I commented that he appears to be having difficulty in conceptualizing the directions given to him. Mrs. Benson replied, "Well, don't worry about Nick he's on his way up." I asked what she meant, and she indicated that Nick was going to be transferred to the special education class on the second floor. She stated that she wanted to send Curt also. She commented that Nick "would be an all day teaching job" and that if she spent time teaching him, there would be no time left for the remainder of the class. She indicated that she had simply decided to let Nick do what he wanted to do so long as he kept out of trouble.

On the way to the lounge, I was introduced by Mrs. Benson to one of the special education teachers from the second floor. This teacher, Mrs. Warner, commented that she would like to go back and teach kindergarten. She said, "They are such cute little dolls. They do anything you want." Mrs. Benson then commented that she doesn't like teaching the second grade because "you have to spend too much time with them individually." She turned directly to me and continued, "Like the other morning when we had to spend a half an hour just getting the kids to write their headings on the paper. Last year, when I taught third grade, we never had those kinds of troubles. I would tell the children to put their heading on the paper and they did it. Now I have to spend so much time on things that are not important. But the one thing that makes me keep going is that they are all so loveable. They will come up and hug me and love me and want to kiss me. You know, I am afraid to shout at them because they're so small and so cute that I'm afraid that I will make one of them cry." Both teachers then commented that they would not like to teach older children due to the fact that "they would just as soon hit you as look at you." Mrs. Benson commented that she would never teach above third grade because once they are past the third grade, "they so tough and hard that you can not do anything with them anymore."

September 16.

After the morning recess, Mrs. Benson began a reading lesson with the group on the right side of the room. She assigned arithmetic to the remainder of the students. As soon as she finished the assignment, Lilly put her head down in her arms. At one point she stood as if she was going to go to the reading table as Mrs. Benson gave permission to those who had finished, but she sat back down and again put her head in her arms. A few minutes later she took out her box of crayons and began coloring on a sheet of paper. She worked at this only momentarily and then put the crayons and paper away. Again she put her head down. Mrs. Benson, during the lesson with the group on the right at one point turned to the children at the reading table and said, "Someone is reading with his mouth and not with his eyes." The children at the reading table became silent. Eighteen minutes later Lilly still had her head in her arms. Among the remainder of the children who had finished arithmetic assignments there was a good deal of talking being done in a very quiet tone. One of the girls in the group on the left side of the room showed the others in the group three new pencils that she brought to school. One of the boys asked for one and the girl refused. The boy then called her "stupid." A teacher came into the class to borrow scotch tape. While she was in the room, she related that one of her students ate the cookies that she had brought for her lunch. She commented that she will "fix him, don't worry." As the teacher left, an eighth grade boy came in who takes orders from the teachers for their noon lunch. He then goes to a nearby small restaurant and purchases the food for the teachers. As he left, Mrs. Benson informed the class that they were going to make their first visit to the library.

> When Mrs. Benson mentions that the class is going to go to the library, several of the children clap their hands with anticipation. Several comment, "Oh, boy." Mrs. Benson says, "Now we don't have to go to the library. Some people can cause us to not to go. Nick, what did I say to do?" Nick makes no verbal response and shrugs his shoulders. Alice whispers to him that he should take his books off his desk. Nick then does so. Mrs. Benson asks the girls to "quietly line up." When the girls are in line, several begin to lean against the wall. Mrs. Benson says to those girls in a harsh, inflected voice, "Girls, get off that wall." She then asks the boys to come into the line behind the girls. As the boys move to the front of the room she says to them, "Get a partner and keep your mouth shut." Mrs. Benson then leads the class to the library. As they leave the room, she checks

the students to make sure that they are carrying no pencils, paper books, crayon or candy. When the group reaches the library, the librarian informs Mrs. Benson that she is a week early. The library periods for the school are not to begin until the following Monday. However, the librarian consents to have the children come into the library. She instructs the girls to sit on a large rug in one corner of the room. The boys are to stand behind the girls. Mrs. Spring, the librarian, notes that Joe has a piece of gum in his mouth. She asks him if he needs to go to the waste basket. He replies that he does not. She then asks what he had in his mouth and he states that he has gum. Mrs. Spring: "Well, don't you need to use the wastebasket?" Joe still does not realize the implication of her question and again says "No." Mrs. Spring, now irritated and in a heavily inflected voice says to Joe, "Boy, go spit that gum out." He does. Mrs. Spring then informs the group that when they come to the library they are not to bring gum, candy, or seeds. Mrs. Spring then explains to the class that they will begin coming the following week to take books from the library. All the books that they will be able to choose from are in the section marked with a large green "E." Above the paper with the letter "E" is another sign that reads "Easy Books." On the walls and on top of of the book cases are displays of the book covers of books in the library. Among the more than fifty covers on display is not any with the picture of a black man. Many are of white children and white adults. Mrs. Spring then begins to list the materials that are available in the library. She lists books, records, puppets, pictures, and miniature replicas of a number of animals. She then asks the class what they can find in the library. The class responds correctly with the first four listed above. They also say "animals." Mrs. Spring says, "No, we don't have any animals in the library." At this point she picks up the replicas of the animals and puts them in a storage cabinet. Mrs. Spring then comments that she forgot one other thing that is in the library and that is filmstrips. Mrs. Spring asks the class to repeat the words "Filmstrips" and the class does. She then asks the class if anyone knows what a filmstrip is and there is no response from the class. She says, "A filmstrip is a head full in a hand full. Now repeat that." Several of the children say, appearing quite confused, "headin a hand." The librarian then has the girls come to the door and form a line. The boys come after the girls and Mrs. Benson then leads

> the group back to the second grade classroom. On the way back, Lilly walks at the very rear of the group by herself. She has walked very slowly and the rest of the children walk past her.

When the children reached their room, Mrs. Benson told them that they were to go to their seats and "be quiet." The noise level in the class remained quite high. The children were actively talking among themselves. Mrs. Benson said in a loud harsh voice, "Someone did not hear what I said. I said to shut up." The noise level in the class diminished only momentarily and then returned to a rather high level.

September 22.

A phenomena which was present in the kindergarten, but much more apparent in the second grade was the continuous interruption of the teacher and the class by persons walking into the room for any variety of reasons. During the first twenty minutes of observation on September 22, six interruptions were noted:

> (1) 8:47 a.m.--A boy comes into the room with a pencil sharpener that Mrs. Benson had requested from the supply room.
>
> (2) 8:58 a.m.--A boy comes into the room with three sheets of paper which he gives to Mrs. Benson.
>
> (3) 9:02 a.m.--The office secretary brings a new student to the class.
>
> (4) 9:04 a.m.--The assistant principal comes into the room. He whispers something to Mrs. Benson and leaves.
>
> (5) 9:05 a.m.--The father of one of the children in the class enters to give lunch money to the student.
>
> (6) 9:07 a.m.--The third grade teacher enters to borrow twelve sheets of green construction paper.

Mrs. Benson had begun to work with the class on the heading for a printing assignment at 8:42 a.m. Given the series of interruptions, the first discussion of the lesson itself began thirty-three minutes later. The children worked through the interruptions to complete the heading. The number of interruptions listed above is not atypical for any of the class mornings. What was not present during the twenty-minute period that very frequently occurs at 8:50 a.m. are the morning announcements from the principal. They were given at 9:25 a.m. which may be considered as the seventh interruption in thirty-eight minutes--an interruption approximately once every five minutes.

When the children came into the classroom from the playground before the beginning of school, Mrs. Benson asked them to go to their seats. There were no morning opening exercises, but instead she asked Tom to begin to sharpen the pencils of the students. This had become a part of the morning ritual. Everyday a boy was designated to sharpen the pencils of all students. Pencil sharpening was done at no other time during the day. If a lead was broken, the student had to borrow from a classmate. As Tom began to sharpen the pencils, Mrs. Benson indicated that she had to leave the room. She gave no order to the class that they were to be quiet or stay in their seats, but she merely said, "I'll be right back." While the teacher was out of the room, the noise level among the students increased only very slightly if at all. When Mrs. Benson returned several minutes later, she asked why Laura was still standing at the pencil sharpener where she had been when the teacher left the room. Laura explained that she had three new pencils to sharpen and that the lead broke in the sharpener on one of them so they had to do it again. Mrs. Benson made no further comment to Laura who stayed at the sharpener with Tom. Mary had finished her heading and showed it to the teacher who commented, "That's nice." Mrs. Benson began to work on papers at her desk. The children were to continue work on their heading. The noise level rose somewhat and she looked up from her work and said, in an inflected voice, "It doesn't take talkin' to put a headin' on the paper." The class is noticeably quieter. Mary looked around at the papers of students sitting near her and said to Mrs. Benson, "Some of the children have used three spaces for the headin' instead of two." Mrs. Benson replied, "That's because some children can't listen." Both Laura and Lilly had written their heading correctly, though the lines on Lilly's paper were not printed as darkly nor as straight as those of Laura's paper.

When the assignment had been given to the class and they were beginning work, I asked the teacher if the class was going to go to the library tomorrow. She indicated that the librarian had changed the schedule and the children were now to go on Thursday instead of Tuesday. She asked me if I would like to look at the revised schedule of library visits. I indicated that I would and she indicated that it was posted on the front bulletin board under the listing of "Reminders." As I copied the schedule, she came to the board also and looked at the lunch menu. I noted that the speech teacher, Mrs. Cavan, was scheduled for the class and Mrs. Benson responded that she had come on one day to check the entire class. She found that both Nick and Carol needed help on certain forms of pronunciation. Thus she was not going to teach the entire class, but rather work with these two children alone. Also on the bulletin board was the listing of the times that the gym was available to the different rooms for indoor recess and physical education. I asked

Mrs. Benson if the second grade class was able to use the gym and she replied that they were not. She explained that the only physical education the second grade received was if she took them outside for "some small exercises." (She was never observed to do this.) The listing of the times that children from the different rooms were to be excused for school band practice was also among the items on the board. I questioned Mrs. Benson as to whether the second grade children were allowed to play in the band and she indicated that they were not. Band lessons begin with children who are in the fourth grade.

September 23

A pattern that was clearly beginning to emerge in the classroom was the not infrequent practice of Mrs. Benson teaching the highest reading group and the middle reading group together, while the slowest group was taught alone. This is somewhat a modification of the manner in which the kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Caplow, had organized her teaching of the class. Mrs. Caplow appeared to perceive the major ability gap as lying between the children at Table 1 and those at Table 2, that is, those at Tables 2 and 3 were perceived to be more similar in potential than were those at Tables 1 and 2. The pattern, however, for the second grade teacher indicates that she perceived the major ability differentiation as lying between those at Tables 2 and 3. That is, those students at Tables 1 and 2 were perceived as sharing a more similar potential than were those at Tables 2 and 3.

Twice during the morning lesson on language that was being taught the slowest group, Mrs. Benson has asked a question of the group without receiving a correct answer. This was even after she had asked Marcia (the child especially kept back from the middle reading group to insure that there would be one student in the group who could provide the correct answer when the remainder of the group could not). When confronted with the fact that no student in the group could provide the correct answer, Mrs. Benson turned to students in the other two groups. These students were involved in a completely different lesson when Mrs. Benson interrupted them and asked for the answer to the question unanswered by the slowest group. One of the two incidents in which Mrs. Benson went to another group for the answer is as follows:

> Mrs. Benson has written the word "fish" on the board. She asks the group if they know the word and several respond correctly that the word is "fish." She then erases the "sh" and replaces the two letters with a "b." She then asks how the new word is pronounced. Jim replies, "fit." Alice says, "fish." Lou offers, "bit." Mrs. Benson replies, "No, look at the word, f-i-b. This the same thing as telling a story. Instead of them telling a story, they tell a (pause). Marcia, do you know?" Marcia responds, "Somebody tells a story." Jim adds, "No, somebody tellin' a fob." Mrs. Benson asks, "A fob?" Jim responds, "yea." Mrs. Benson then turns away from the group on the right to the remainder of the class who are all doing arithmetic lessons and asks, "Anybody out there know what this word is? Liza, do you know what it is?" Liza responds, "fib." Mrs. Benson replies, "Yes, hasn't anyone ever told you a fib?" Nick responds "Not me." (Liza is in the highest reading group.)

On the second of the two occasions, the children in the slowest group were to define a word that appeared to be totally absent from their experience and background.

> Mrs. Benson writes the word "colt" on the board. She says, "Now who can tell me what a colt is?" Jim offers, "Somethin' you put over your shoulders." Mrs. Benson replies, "No, that is a coat, c-o-a-t. I am talkin' about a colt, c-o-l-t." Alice says, "A colt is a slow." Mrs. Benson asks, "A slow?" Alice says, "yea." Mrs. Benson then

> begins to draw a picture on the blackboard. She asks the group, "What is this I'm trying to draw?" Jim says, "A horse." Mrs. Benson replies, "So what is a colt?" Jim says, "A pig." Alice offers, "A cow." Marcia says it is a "chicken." At this point Mrs. Benson turns to the children in the other two groups in the class and says, "Does anyone out there know what a colt is?" Hal has raised his hand and is called upon by Mrs. Benson. He says, "A baby horse." Mrs. Benson says, "Yes." Mrs. Benson then turns back to the group on the right and tells them that is the end of the lesson.

While the slow group was working on this vocabulary lesson, the remaining children in the class were involved in arithmetic assignments. There had not been enough books for all the children, so six pairs of children shared books. All those who had to share books were in the middle reading group. When Mrs. Benson finished the lesson with the slow group, she went to begin work with the fastest group. The students in the middle group were left to finish the arithmetic lesson. When the fast group had gathered around her, Mrs. Benson began the lesson. She repeated to the children several times that they should be aware of the twenty words on the page in their spelling book since they had first looked at them yesterday. She then had the children read through the list of the twenty words, and they did so very quickly. Mrs. Benson did not have the children repeat each word after her, as she did later when the words were reviewed by the middle reading group. Instead, she indicated that she expected them to know the words and that there is no reason why she need repeat them. She noted that the class period is nearly over and told the group to leave their books open to begin new activities with the words after the recess period.

Within the second grade classroom, Mrs. Benson sought to routinize the behavior of the students in regard to movement in and out of the room. That is, she sought to establish an invariant pattern which the children were to follow each time that they moved en mass either to or from the class. The pattern that she sought to establish in regard to leaving the room was as follows: first the girls from the fast reading group, then the girls from the middle reading group and finally the girls from the slow group. The same pattern was then repeated with the boys. Thus the first group to be called were the girls from the highest reading group and the last were the boys from the lowest reading group. The degree to which she sought to follow this pattern was illustrated at the end of the class session.

> Mrs. Benson tells the girls from the left side that they may go and line up to go to the restroom. She then indicates the girls from the rear may also line up. She does not mention that the girls from the right are to follow, but they do take their place behind the girls from the middle group. Mrs. Benson then goes and stands at the doorway. None of the boys have been called to the front. Several begin to walk towards the line. Others follow and soon all the boys are in line or very nearly so. Mrs. Benson looks at the boys and says, "Boys, I never called any of your names. Now get back and sit down." As soon as the boys reach their seats, she begins to call the three groups of boys back to the front. The bell rings and the children are dismissed.

September 26.

The interruption of the classroom activities by those from outside the class was an intermittent yet continual phenomenon. Thought patterns were broken, lessons interrupted, attention lost, and only short periods of concentration were allowed as a result of the interruptions. On the 26th, an attempt was made to note during a thirty-five minute observational period all outside interruptions of the class. Thus the dropping of a book, the talking of the children which disturbs others, or a coughing spell were not counted, though they also are factors that create interruptions in the flow of activity in the room. Such internal factors that contribute to disruption are, I believe, an inherent part of placing more than thirty persons in one room for many hours each day. The interruptions from outside the room, however, do not result from internal activity, but from the activities of others not a part of the class itself. The teacher has little authority or power to control the number of interruptions that impinge upon her class. The most effective manner would be to have the door locked, but fire regulations prohibit locked classrooms within the school. The following observational account is marked by time to give indication of the fluxuating length of uninterrupted activity that the class experiences.

12:45 p. m. Bell rings indicating end of noon recess period.

12:51 p.m. Children come into the room. Some go and sit while others talk with me or look at books.

12:53 p.m. Mrs. Benson enters the room, turns off the lights and says, "Everyone get in their seat." Dick comes to Mrs. Benson and says that Alice put her hand in front of his face. Mrs. Benson turns to Alice and says, "If Alice had her head down, she couldn't possibly have a hand in your face. Isn't that right, Alice?" Alice makes no verbal response and puts her head down.

12:56 p.m. First interruption--Teacher from third grade comes and asks Mrs. Benson if she has a master key to the doors. Teacher indicates that she has locked herself out of her room. Mrs. Benson suggests that instead of going to office and asking principal for a key, she send a boy outside to climb through the window. Teacher says that she thought of that, but all windows are locked. Mrs. Benson suggests that she go speak with Mrs. Logan, the first grade teacher. Third grade teacher leaves the room. Orlando enters the room and is called to the teacher's desk Mrs. Benson then speaks with him for three minutes asking why he is late to class. Child has to go and get sister from fourth grade to substantiate his excuse for being late to class.

12:59 p.m. Second interruption--Orlando comes back to room with sister who relates to teacher reason for child being late for class. Teacher tells sister to "make sure" that her brother is at school on time "from now on."

1:01 p.m. Mary comes to Mrs. Besnon and asks if she would like some hard rock candy. Mrs. Benson indicates that she would not. She says, "No, it is hard for my teeth." Mary responds, "Well, it not hard for my teeth." Mrs. Benson says, "Your teeth may be different from mine. It's hard for my teeth." Mary replies, "But you a lady." Mrs. Benson makes no response to the comment and asks Mary to return to her seat.

1:03 p.m. Third interruption--Principal turns on public address system and gives scores of the noon volley ball games in the eighth grade. Also tells children that they can begin to bring their money to the school to buy the tickets to the three concerts by the St. Louis Symphony especially for children.

1:06 p.m. Fourth interruption--Girl who does errands for the office brings slips to room for Mrs. Benson to sign. She then leaves.

1:08 p.m. Fifth interruption--Second grade teacher, Mrs. Wrong, comes into the room complaining that another teacher ate her sandwich at lunch. She sounds quite angry towards the other teacher who apparently ate the sandwich believing that it had been bought for her instead of one she had ordered. She states that the only way she had lunch was to eat the sandwich of one of her students who was not hungry. She also leaves a three-page memo with Mrs. Benson that she is to read and then pass on to another teacher. The teacher leaves and Mary asks if she can take the memo to the next room. Mrs. Benson responds that she had not yet read it and Mary says, "Yea, but I like to go around the school."

1:10 p.m. Twenty-five minutes after the bell rang, Mrs. Benson instructs class to take out the workbooks in which they are working and finish their exercises. Mrs. Benson asks Rose from the high reading group to take the three-page memo to all the teachers on both the first and second floor. She instructs Rose to wait until the teacher has read it and then pass it on to the next teacher.

1:12 p.m. Sixth interruption--Three patrol boys come into the room asking the teacher if she has one of the school volley balls. She indicates that she does not and they leave.

1:13 p.m. Seventh interruption--Fourth grade teacher comes into the room with money from two children who have brought it to purchase their symphony tickets. (Mrs. Benson and Mrs. Caplow are in charge of ticket sales on the first floor.)

Mrs. Benson tells teacher to keep all the money until the first of next week when principal passes the tickets out to her. Teacher leaves and Laura comes to front with her book. She shows it to the teacher and is told to go ahead and finish the entire page of exercises. Mary comes to show her book and Mrs. Benson responds, "Go back and sit down; I don't want to be disturbed." Shortly Laura comes back to the teacher's desk and asks a question. Mrs. Benson replies, "That's right, honey. Now go back and finish the rest of the page." Laura goes back to her seat. Alice comes to the desk of the teacher and begins to ask a question. Mrs. Benson says, "Alice, that is irrelevant. Now go and sit down." Mrs. Benson then takes her chair to the rear of the room where she sits and begins work with the middle group on their notebooks. The lesson pertains to deciding between two alternatives that are given for each statement. The children are then to underline the correct response. There are four statements that the children are to have completed, and Mrs. Benson is now going to work with the children to mark their pages. All four of the statements relate to what one does if another person speaks a lie. Statement one relates to whether a father would believe the son and the second suggests that he would not. The children are to have marked the latter alternative. The same procedure is repeated with the mother, the sister, and the good friend. Lilly selected correctly on three of the four questions.

1:20 p.m. Eighth interruption--A child from the fourth grade comes to Mrs. Benson with money to purchase symphony tickets. Mrs. Benson explains that the child should take the money back to his teacher and wait until the next week to buy the tickets. Mrs. Benson then begins to check another page of exercises completed by the reading group. There are fifteen statements related to cows and elephants. The children are to make an "X" for an incorrect statement ("Elephants are smaller than cows") and an "O" for correct statement ("Elephants eat hay"). When the papers are graded, Lilly had eleven of the fifteen correct. When Trish comes to the front to have her paper graded, Mrs. Benson makes a special note of telling the class that Trish has failed the exercise because she did not follow directions. She had written "yes" and "no" instead of the "X" and "O". Trish had a perfect paper, but was given a failure mark. Mrs. Benson then checks the papers of Curt and Hal. On the first set of exercises, Hal had a perfect paper and Curt missed three. On the second set of papers, both boys had perfect papers. Mrs. Benson asks Curt if he copied from Hal. Curt says that he did not. Mrs. Benson continued to ask if he cheated saying, "Are you sure, are you real sure?" Curt responds that he did not cheat.

> She comments that it is strange for Hal to get two perfect papers and Curt to do poorly on one and get a perfect on the other. Curt again claims his innocence and Mrs. Benson replies, "O. K., but from now on I am going to be watching you. You know I don't like cheaters." The teacher then takes her chair back to her desk at the front of the room. Rose returns from her errand.

IV. TEACHER PERCEPTION AND CLASSROOM DICHOTOMY

September 29

As the observational period began, Mrs. Benson was teaching to the highest group while the other two have been told to "look at your library books until we go to the library:" Nick is seated at a desk by himself away from his reading group. His desk is now very close to that of Mrs. Benson. The time is 11:10.

> Mrs. Benson writes two sentences on the blackboard. The first is "Jack knows, Kathy" and the second is "Jack knows Kathy." She asks the class to look at the two sentences and tell her what is different about them. Mary states that one has a "mark." Mrs. Benson replies, "No, that is not what it is. You should know because I have told you before. Liza says, "It a comet." Mrs. Benson asks her to repeat what she has said and she again indicates that it is a "comet." Mrs. Benson says that it is not a comet and asks Rose. Rose says it is a "combo." Mrs. Benson says it is not a combo and asks Joyce, who says it is a comma. Mrs. Benson then asks the class to say "comma" and when they do, they are asked to repeat it again. Mrs. Benson then asks what a comma is for in a sentence and Mary says, "To stop a minute." Mrs. Benson replies, "Yes, when you come to a comma, you pause." Mrs. Benson then indicates that there is no more time for the lesson as she has to pass out the library cards.

During the course of the semester in which the children were observed in second grade, eleven observations were made of their half-hour library periods. The first of those periods was noted in the discussion of September 16 class activities. To avoid description of each of the periods which very quickly assumed a character that was evident throughout all observational periods, the observation of the library visit on the 29th of September is presented in some detail as representative of events which occurred during all of the library periods. Thus in discussion of future activities of the class, only brief mention will be made of activities related to the library, not due to the lack of information, but for the sake of avoiding long series of nearly repetitious notes. It is hoped that the following will suffice to provide the reader with an understanding of what were the common and predominant experiences of the children in their weekly visit to the library.

> Mrs. Benson states that she is going to pass out the library cards. Alice asks if she is going to receive one also, and Mrs. Benson replies, in a harsh voice, "I'm not talkin' to you yet; girl, get quiet." Alice bows her head. Mrs. Benson begins to call the names of the children and they come to the front to receive their library cards. Carol comes when her name is called and says that she has forgotten her book. Mrs. Benson in a loud and harsh voice begins shouting at Carol that she had better remember to bring her book and that the librarian will not like her for having forgotten her book. She states that, in fact, the librarian may never allow her to return to the library again. Carol goes back to her seat and bows her head. Lou calls out to Mrs. Benson that Nick has forgotten his book also. Mrs. Benson turns to Lou and in a harsh voice, "Lou, who you takin' care of, boy?" Lou responds, "Lou." Mrs. Benson says, "Ok, boy, you better keep it that way." When all the children have their cards, Laura walks to the front and asks the teacher if she reads her book tonight, can she have another one tomorrow. Mrs. Benson replies in a soft and pleasant voice to Laura that she is sorry, but that Laura will have to wait a whole week with the rest of the class.
>
> Mrs. Benson then says, "Ok, girls from the Tigers, come line up." The same instruction is repeated for the group of girls in the rear, referring to them as "Cardinals." The last group of girls from the right are also called and they are referred to as "Clowns." I must have appeared somewhat puzzled at Mrs. Benson calling the groups by name, for she came to me and

explained that she had "gotten tired of not having any name for the groups so she has given each of the three reading groups a new name. The boys are also asked to line up beginning with Tiger boys and ending with the Clown boys. Nick is the last child to leave the room. He does not have a partner. Mrs. Benson instructs him to turn off the lights as he leaves.

As the children enter the library the librarian stands in the door saying repeatedly, "Watch your lips." She also instructs the boys to "pick up your feet. This is not a parade." She then instructs the children where to sit with the boys seated on the left and the girls on the right side of the room. Mrs. Spring then asks whether there are any children in the class who did not receive a library card the previous week. One boy did not receive one. Another boy then holds up his hand and is asked by Mrs. Spring, "Are you new?" The boy replies "uh huh." Mrs. Spring replies, "Oh no, we can't have talk like that in my library. What is it you are suppose to say when you are in the library?" The boy replies, "Yes ma'am." Mrs. Spring says, "No, that is not good enough. Say, Yes Mrs. Spring." The boy repeats as instructed.

Mrs. Spring then asks who has forgotten to bring their library book. Nick indicates that he forgot, and Mrs. Spring says, "Oh no, we can't have that. You better bring that book back at lunch or I will put your name on the list of those who forget today is Monday. You better bring that book, hear me, boy?"

Rose then calls out to Mrs. Spring, "Carol forgot her book." Mrs. Spring turns to Rose and in a loud and harsh voice says, "Oh no, little lady. The next time you open your mouth I am going to lose my temper. I am able to speak for myself. Now you keep sittin' there and keep your mouth shut if you want to stay in my library." Mrs. Spring then goes and asks Audrey where her book is and Audrey replies that it is at home. The librarian then begins to literally shout and scream at the children saying, "What's wrong with you? Can't you remember anything? What's wrong with your mother? Can't she remember anything, too? Why didn't you bring your book? What are you trying to do, lose all of my library books? Are you trying to embarrass the whole room?" Audrey replies, "No ma'am." Mrs. Spring retorts, "Never mind, you are embarrassing the whole room. I am disappointed in you." She then turns away and Audrey, appearing quite distressed, puts her head in her arms.

Mrs. Spring then tells the girls at the first table to begin checking in their due books and go to the shelves to look for a new one. The librarian has told the children of the routine that she wishes them to follow. They are to turn in their old book before they go to look for a new. When they take a book from the shelf they are also to insert a piece of cardboard to mark the place on the shelf from where the book was taken. Virginia has taken a book from the shelf. Mrs. Spring says, "Little person, you're doing that wrong. You always put the cardboard in first before you take out the book." She grabs the book from her hands and places it back in the shelf. She then takes the cardboard, places it on the shelf next to the book and takes the book back from the shelf. She says, as the girl is hesitant to take it from her hands, "Well take it. It is the one that you wanted."

When the children have checked out their new books, they are to return to their seats. Lilly begins to show her new book to Shirley. Mrs. Benson, who is seated in the rear of the room, calls out to Lilly, "Lilly, shut your mouth." Mrs. Spring then sees two boys, Tom and Joe, showing one another pictures from their two books. She says, as she claps her hands three times, "Hey, you two, turn around and use your books." The two boys separate and then close their books." I make note that of the fifty book covers on display in the library, only one has on it the picture of a black person. The name of the single book is Jim Beckenworth, Negro Mountain Man.

The time allowed for the children to select a new book is quite small. The last four children do not have time and Mrs. Spring simply gives them a book to check out. She then tells the class to line up to leave with all the girls before the boys. She hears Rose talking to Laura. She comes up behind Rose and claps her hands four times and says, "Oh no, oh no. You are going to close your mouth, little lady, or you and I are going to have a falling out right here. I have taken all from you that I am going to take today. If I hear one more word from you, it is going to be all over. The librarian then tells the children, "All right now, little people, you can go back to your room." I am the last person out of the library from the class and as I pass the librarian, she says, "Maybe I ought to give you one of these little kiddie books, too." I simply smile and leave.

An event that cannot afford to be lost in the material on the library visit is the reference to the teacher giving names to her three reading groups. Referring to her highest reading group as "Tigers" (they won the last World Series in St. Louis), the middle reading group as the "Cardinals" and the lowest group as the "Clowns" appears to sum in a very few words the perceptions of Mrs. Benson towards the various groups in her class. Mrs. Benson did not use code as she labeled her three tables. To be called "Table 1" with Mrs. Caplow or "Table A" in Mrs. Logan's class indicated that one was in the select group, but it did not portray a fundamental dichotomy of perception by the teachers to refer to their lowest groups as "Table 3" of "Table C." That is, though there was a ranking, the ranking was done within the same conceptual set. But with the use of "Tigers, Cardinals, and Clowns," there occurs a clear split in the conceptual groups implied by the first two names and that of the third.[2] No pretense is made of implying that the groups are viewed as different gradations on one plane of performance, but that rather there are profound differences of perceived ability and potential that inherently separate the students into two major groups. Though it is only an assumption, I would contend that to call a group of students "clowns" (or buzzards) implies more than merely an evaluation of their academic performance. It is a statement of their perceived worth as individuals. They are viewed as belonging to an entirely separate category of persons--those who, to paraphrase Matza (1961), are considered as "disreputable" students. They are perceived as disreputable, for they have a fundamental stigmata that sets them apart from the remainder of the class--they have certain undesired behavioral and attitudinal characteristics and they are repeating the grade.

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[2] A similar example of the split in conceptual categories utilized by a teacher to differentiate reading groups is known by the author in a Florida grade school classroom where the highest reading group are termed "butterflies," the middle group labeled "blue-jays" and the lowest group "buzzards."

The variable of repeating the grade only becomes relevant with the first grade and beyond. In kindergarten there are no students who repeat the grade. The kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Caplow, appeared to utilize a number of socio-economic factors in addition to behavioral and attitudinal characteristics to ascertain her expectations of who would succeed and who would fail. For Mrs. Logan, there was available to her as she formulated her evaluations, not only the material on all the children from their kindergarten year, but for one group, their presence for a second time in her classroom. (This was also the group placed alone on one side of the room, far apart from the rest of the students.) Likewise for Mrs. Benson, there were the data available to her of the performance of the children from the previous year in first grade, and also the knowledge that there were those who were again repeating the grade. (Here again, the children repeating the grade are all placed together in one group and given a label substantially different from those given to the remainder of the students in the class.)

October 2

When the bell rings to allow the children in from the playground at 8:30 a.m., Lilly comes in and immediately takes out a sheet of paper. She selects a red crayon and begins to draw. At 8:35 a.m., Mrs. Benson writes five arithmetic problems on the board. She had mentioned on a previous visit that she now does this each morning as soon as the children come into the room to "keep them busy" while she fills out the necessary attendance reports for the main office. Marcia and Rose are asked to come to the front and take paper to pass out to the students. When Lilly and Laura receive their papers, they begin immediately to write their heading. (This is a standard procedure that Mrs. Benson expects on all papers turned in by the students. She will accept no paper to be graded that does not have a complete heading.) When both girls finish, they each begin drawing on notebook paper. Lilly shows Trish what she has drawn. Trish makes no comment but does smile. Lilly then gives Trish a piece of her paper, Trish again smiles and both girls begin to color. Laura has been drawing a picture of a house. She appears very intent on doing her drawing and does not show her paper to anyone nor does she converse with any other student. Curt has become interested in what Lilly and Trish are drawing. He rises up out of his seat and looks over the shoulder of Trish. Mrs. Benson sees Curt partially standing and says, "There is nothing on her paper to interest you, boy. Sit back, boy." Curt does so.

Mrs. Benson then asks the class to "pass forward all papers right now." Several of the children are talking softly among themselves. Mrs. Benson says, "I did not say for anyone to open their mouth. I said you should pass your papers forward." When she has collected all papers she instructs the children to open their arithmetic books and "take everything else off your desk." She instructs Alice and Amy to "be careful with the books 'cause I know you don't want to have to pay for them 'cause you tore out a page. They are not yours, so take care, hear?"

A further incident of the teacher asking for the class to tell her someone who had performed incorrectly occurred as the children began reciting problems from the arithmetic book. Mrs. Benson had given each of the students in the class ten strips of grey paper to use as "counters" in place of their fingers. One arithmetic problem was giving several of the students difficulty as they attempted to answer her question. Thus she had told the entire class to take out their counters and work with them to achieve the correct answer.

> Mrs. Benson then asks how many counters would have to be taken away from five to have two remaining. Most of the children in the class respond "three." Mrs. Benson said, "Who was that I heard say two?" Jim points to Amy and Amy points back at Jim. Mrs. Besnon calls on Jim to give the answer. He incorrectly says "two." Amy sitting beside Jim in the next row is snickering. Jim turns to Amy and says, "Girl, I didn't say nothin'." Amy responds, "Boy, you did too." Jim appears quite angry and turns away.

The teacher's asking in the general way for who it was that had given the incorrect response appears to have triggered a good deal of internal hostility between two members of the class. Such questions, though, are asked in such a manner that any student who answers is placed in the position of having reported on a fellow student. As noted earlier, this may result in the teacher turning on the very student who supplied the information, or in this case, turning on the student singled out as having incorrectly responded.

October 3

Along with schedules of band practice and lunchroom menus on Mrs. Benson's bulletin board was also the listing of the times when the school nurse was available. The nurse was not present continually at the school, but served five schools and rotated her services among them. On the third of October, the nurse was not to be present in Attucks School during any part of the day. As I entered the second grade classroom, Alice was the only student in the room. The remainder of the class was outside on the playground for the afternoon recess. Mrs. Benson explained that Alice had a severe toothache, but that there was no nurse at the school who could treat it. Thus Alice had to remain in the room. Mrs. Benson indicated that she had the authority neither to give the child aspirin to relieve the pain nor to authorize her leaving school early to go home.

As Mrs. Benson and I spoke during the recess period, an eighth grade boy brought in a number of supplies. There were rubber bands, writing and construction paper, pencils, scotch tape, marking pens, a hole-punch and a box of small erasers. I asked how often each class received supplies and she indicated that supplies were distributed to each class once a month. I posed the question to Mrs. Benson, "Given unlimited resources, what additional materials would you like for your classroom that are not available?" She responded:

> I would like an electric pencil sharpener. You know, when I was working with the third graders last year, I don't know whether they have better coordination or what it is, but they always had theirs sharpened and ready to go at 8:30. With these little people, it is often 9:00 before they are ready to begin. Something else that I would like to have are enough small

> individual jars of paste so each student could have their own. I would want the liquid type so when it gets on the desk and dries, it won't show.

Mrs. Besnon also commented that other than these two items, there was nothing else that she thought necessary for the class.

When the bells rang to signal the end of the recess, the children soon came into the room. Three of the children were not present.

> Mrs. Benson says to the class, "Where's Edith?" Marcia calls out, "She on the wall." Mrs. Benson responds, "Oh." Shortly, Edith, Hal and Doug come into the room. They attempt to walk past the desk of Mrs. Benson and go to their seats. Mrs. Benson says, "Wait a minute. Come here, boys and Edith. Where have you been?" The children speak very softly to the teacher indicating that they have been "on the wall" because they were eating "on the line." Mrs. Benson asks the three, "You know that you are embarrassing us?" and they respond, "Yes, ma'am." The two boys then go to their seats, but Edith remains at the desk. Mrs. Benson asks Edith what she was eating and Edith shows her a small bag of hard candy. Mrs. Benson then tells Edith that she should leave her candy inside during recess. As Edith begins to walk to her desk, Mrs. Benson calls out, "Edith, don't embarrass our room again, hear."

The children's reference to standing "on the line" indicates their having to stand by class in lines on the playground before they are allowed into the building. Each class of students then walks by partner into the school. The reference to standing "on the wall" is a punishment technique utilized by the eighth grade patrol boys and the teachers on yard duty against children who have incurred disciplinary action. The children are forced to stand a distance back from the wall and then lean forward with their arms bracing them from falling into the wall. They must keep their feet apart and are at such an angle to the wall that should they relax their arms, they would fall head first into the brick. This was the punishment of the three children for having been caught eating candy "on the line."

For the first twenty minutes after recess, the teacher was involved in a number of "organizational actitities" with the children. Such problems as the children on the wall, broken pencil leads, and disputes between students that began on the playground consumed most of the twenty minutes. For the following thirty minutes, the teacher was involved in a lesson with all members of the class demonstrating how to print the capital "I". The lesson is cut short at 3:00 p.m. in order that the children can "clean up all the trash" around their seats before they leave. She tells the class that no one will be able to leave "until all the trash is picked up and put in the trash can." She also noted, "All papers are to go home to your mothers." When the children finish cleaning the floor, they all go to their seats and sit very quietly with their hands folded and looking straight ahead. Mrs. Benson then selects rows to leave, indicating that the first row chosen had "the neatest floor." All the rows in the Tiger group were chosen before the remainder of the class.

October 6

A twice-weekly routine of the teacher was to have the children take home all papers that they had done. As noted on Friday, October 3, Mrs. Benson instructed the children to "make sure all papers are to go home to your mothers." As was to develop during a lesson on Monday, these instructions created a good deal of confusion among the children and one group was denied a reading lesson because they had explicitly followed her directions.

> Mrs. Benson comes to the Clowns and says, "Clowns, take out your duplicating sheets. We are going to grade them now." Lou responds, "I took mine home." Mrs. Benson says, "Lou, you were not supposed to do that. You are never to take home any papers that are not graded." Lou continues, "But Friday you said to take home all papers." Mrs. Benson replies, "Well, I meant that you were to only take home those papers that had been graded." Lou makes no response. Laura then interrupts Mrs. Benson and shows her the paper that she has finished. Mrs. Benson then goes to her desk for a ditto which she asks Mary to take to the office to have duplicated.
>
> Mrs. Benson then leaves her desk having given Mary the ditto and brings her chair to the Clowns group. When she is seated, she notes that only two of the nine students present have their sheets on their desk. She then asks the remaining seven children where their sheets are and they respond that they took them home. One boy indicates that he lost his sheet on the way home. Mrs. Benson becomes very irritated with the group and says, "Well, you are not ready. None of you are ready. You all better get those papers tonight and bring them back tomorrow so we can grade them. We can't read today because you are not ready. I am going to go and work with them." She then picks up her chair and goes to the Tiger group. She gives no further directions to the Clowns and they merely sit for the next twenty-five minutes either watching Mrs. Benson teach the Tigers or else having their heads down in their arms. Later in the period, several of the children begin to color in a coloring book that Lou has brought from home. He tears out pages and shares with others in the Clown group.

At 11:25 a.m., Mrs. Benson ends the reading lesson with the Tigers and has the class begin to prepare for a visit to the library.

October 9

As I entered the room after noon recess, I immediately noticed that Mrs. Benson had taped on the back blackboard faces drawn by the children. Every face was, as explained by Mrs. Benson, to be a self-portrait. There were thirty pictures taped on the board. Every face was drawn with brown crayon except for the face of Trish which was done with green and purple crayon. Mrs. Benson made a special note of the fact that all the faces were done with brown crayon except for the face of Trish. Likewise, all the children drew their hair black, although the shades of brown and black varied from very dark to quite light. With the eyes, however, a variety of colors were used. Several of the children drew blue eyes, others red eyes, and two had yellow eyes. The remainder of the class drew their eyes either black or brown. All faces were drawn with a nose and mouth, but seven did not have ears.

At 12:50 p.m. the children began to enter the room. They went directly to their seats and Mrs. Benson repeated several times, "All heads are supposed to be down." A number of the children put down their heads but others did not. The noise level dropped quite low though there was not absolute silence. Mrs. Benson then said, "Somebody isn't resting." Only two of the eight with their heads not down then put them so.

> Alice comes from her seat towards the teacher. Mrs. Benson says, "Sit down, Alice." Alice keeps coming towards the desk. Mrs. Benson repeats herself, but Alice walks directly to her desk. She softly speaks to Mrs. Benson and explains that she lost her eraser on the playground and could she go outside to find it. She also asks if she can take someone from the class with her to look for the eraser. Mrs. Benson replies, "Ok, girl, but I doubt that you find it." Many of the children have been listening to Alice and Mrs. Benson. When Mrs. Benson gives permission for Alice to go outside, a number of them hold up their hands indicating that they would like to go along with Alice to look for the eraser.

> All the girls in the Clown group hold up their hand as do all but two of those in the cardinal group. No girls in the Tiger group indicates that she wants to go with Alice to the playground. Alice, however, ignores the requests of all the girls with their hands raised and calls on Virginia from the Tiger group to accompany her. Virginia rises when Alice asks her to go and they leave the room.

As the two left the room and opened the door, a breeze blew through the room. A paper fell from the desk of Rose and blew across under the desk of Lou. Lou picked up the paper and held it for Rose. Rose came to Lou, grabbed the paper from him and said, "Gimmee that paper, boy." She walked back to her seat.

The principal then gave five minutes of announcements over the public address system. When he finished, Mrs. Benson instructed Nick to go and turn on the lights.

> She then says to the class, "All right, now everyone take out their spelling notebooks and their spelling books. Also take out a piece of crayon. Put all pencils and erasers away." Lou and Amy both ask Mrs. Benson what color crayon to use for the checking of the workbooks, but she makes no response. Hal, who sits in the cardinal group, comes to Mrs. Benson's desk and explains that he has not been able to finish the lesson. Mrs. Benson replies, "There is not a thing I can do for you. There is just not a thing I can do. Just go back and sit down. Every question that you have not finished you will have to mark wrong." Mrs. Benson then begins to check the books of the Tigers and Cardinals, calling on Shirley for the fourth answer. Shirley responds, "I don't know where you at." Mrs. Benson responds, "Well, what am I supposed to do for you, girl? Find out where we are." Mrs. Benson then calls on Laura for the answer, who responds correctly.

When the teacher and the two groups had checked the first ten exercises on one page, Mrs. Benson asked all the class to close their books and put them away. Thus none of the work done by the Clowns was checked. Mrs. Benson explained that since it was "Fire Prevention Week," they were going to go to the gymnasium to hear a fireman talk to them. As the girls lined up and then the boys to go to the gym, Lilly was left without a partner. She walked by herself as the last girl before the boys. (The same was also to be the case as the class returned to the room at the end of the talk.)

The gym was filled with children. I learned from the principal that all the students in the building except for the kindergarten were present. This would be approximately 850 students. The students all sat on benches in long rows the length of the gym. The teachers did not sit on the benches, but on individual folding chairs along the two walls near their children. The fireman, who was white, gave a lengthy talk on the causes and prevention of fires. Much of what he said appears to be much too complicated for the students, at least those in the earlier grades. He spoke of "electrical conduction," "electric circuit breakers," and "asbestos material," for example. The children began to talk among themselves and pay little attention. Among some of the older children, I noted girls looking in one another's purses, boys attempting to squeeze one another's hands and others seeming to be asleep. As the fireman ended his talk, he asked if there were any questions. There were none. He said "Thank you" and left the stage. The children were then dismissed by grades with the first grades being the first to leave the gym.

V. FROM A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE: THE STUDENTS

During two weeks in the middle of October, all observational activity was suspended and interviews of an hour and one-half were conducted with each of the students in the class. An interview schedule was developed utilizing 36 questions in six substantive areas. A number of the questions were drawn from the questionnaire devised by Leacock

(1969). The complete interview schedule for the second grade students is found in Appendix A. Also found in Appendix A is a detailed discussion of the answers of the children to each of the 36 questions. In addition to the questions, the children were also asked to draw a picture of themselves. Mrs. Benson was extremely cooperative and allowed the coatroom to be used for the interviews. I was able to interview throughout the day and would only have to call the name of the child and he or she was excused from class activity. The interviewing was done over a period of nine class days. The following is a summary and discussion of the data collected from the interviews detailing both the major substantive areas of questioning and the responses of the three reading groups separately.

Any interpretation of the findings of this short interview to the students must be viewed within the context that the answers of the children may have been influenced by their desire to "say the right thing." This may be especially true, given that the interviewer had spent time with the children at least periodically since their first day of kindergarten for some and since the first day of second grade for others. Nevertheless, this drawback of the children responding with what they considered to be the correct and proper response to one perceived by them as affiliated with the school has one very important bonus. That is, though the responses may not have been the true feelings of the children, they responded in terms of what they perceived to be the expectations of the school and the teachers for them. Thus by responding with what they believed to be proper, they were in a sense very clearly stating and defining how they understood the formal expectations of the school to be constructed.

Many of the questions within the interview were deliberately vague and open-ended. This was done to allow the children the opportunity to interpret and respond to them freely. In such a manner it was hoped that the children, given the openness of the questions, would verbalize the degree to which they perceived the goals of the school and the teacher as either behavior-centered or learning-centered. Likewise, such open-ended questions were utilized to allow the children to verbalize how they perceived the learning environment of the school and class, and the degree to which the school became a place of "putting in time"or a place where they were engaged in the experience of learning and developing new understandings about themselves and their world.

Very little appears necessary to note in relation to the first area of questioning in the interview. The large majority of students in all three reading groups knew and could relate the relevant information concerning themselves and where they lived. In the second substantive area (seeking to determine the students' attitudes and perceptions of the activities of the school), with school being a permanent aspect of the life experience of the child for the majority of the early years of their life, they responded that they would continue to come to school, even if they were told they did not have to do so. The children appeared to accept the experience of school as given. There appeared to be some variation, however, in the value the children perceived in the experience itself. The majority of the Tigers and Cardinals responded that they felt they would miss something if they did not come, while only four of the eight Clowns believed they were going to miss anything. For the last group, though they said they would come, only half appeared to believe that the experience was profitable and worthwhile. When asked what the school taught them about themselves, few children in the class responded in terms other than how to perform in class. When asked what school taught them about getting along with other children, the majority in all three groups replied that the school emphasized the undesirability of violence and that they as children should not seek to use violence for their own ends. Few children responded in the affirmative that the school taught them to seek friendship and help one another.

Seeking to determine the sociometric preferences and dislikes of the children in the class constituted the third major area of the interview. In general, first choice as to the person each child desired to sit next to varied among the three groups. The Tigers were a quite self-contained group with preference given to a fellow member of the highest reading group. Among members of the Cardinals, preference was expressed for both members of the Tigers and the Clowns. The Clowns were also highly self-contained with only three choices outside their own group, and these all Cardinals. An interesting result of the question on preference indicates that the children have not chosen those by whom they want to sit in relation to the attitudes and behavior of the teacher. It could have been anticipated, with her continual praising and rewarding of the Tigers, that the majority of students in the remaining two groups would want to sit by a Tiger, had they internalized the teacher's attitudes as to who were the successful students. But the evaluations of the children as to who they wanted to sit by did not mirror the teacher's evaluation.

Her evaluations, however, were clearly mirrored in the selection of the most popular student. Nineteen of the thirty-one children who answered the question indicated that a member of the Tiger group was the most popular child in the class. Combining the children's responses on these two items, one may conclude that though children may recognize another student as very popular, that does not indicate they wish to sit by him. Friendship patterns did not coincide with popularity patterns for any but those within the Tiger group. There popularity and friendship choices were among one and the same group. The peer alliance of the Tigers combined both friendship and popularity while for the Clowns, who also had a strong peer alliance, the presence of friendship occurred without popularity. The role of the teacher appeared to be most influential in her original establishment of seating assignements for the development of friendship. The resultant interaction which occurred through close proximity appeared to create the situation in which friendship patterns then emerged (cf. Homans, 1950, for an extended discussion on the interrelation of proximity, interaction and sentiments).

A somewhat different picture emerges in the choices of the children that they did not wish to sit near. Here the attitudes and behavior of the teacher appeared to be of significant influence. Twenty-seven of the 64 names mentioned as undesirable to sit near were those of Clowns. Of these twenty-seven, Nick was named twelve times, or nearly half of the total for the group. The Clowns also had the highest index of rejection of fellow members of the reading group. Of the fifteen names mentioned by Clowns, nine were Clowns.

Interestingly, not a single Clown expressed an unwillingness to sit next to a Tiger. The group that was most belittled and ridiculed by the teacher was the same group that rejected members of its own group most frequently, but at the same time had the strongest internal friendship alliance. Such appears to be a result of isolation from the rest of the class. Neither friendship patterns nor aversion patterns have developed to any degree outside the group; both positive and negative feelings are turned back in upon themselves. (The only other child in the class who was singled out to any degree for rejection was Curt, a member of the Cardinals. He, like Nick, though, was often the object of direct and personalized ridicule from the teacher. Not only to myself, but to members of the class, Mrs. Benson commented that both of them "would have to go.")

In the fourth substantive area of questioning, the children were asked to identify situations or experiences that brought them happiness and those that brought them unhappiness. The questions sought to determine the degree to which the child's awareness of the influences upon his emotional state included the school situation; that is the degree to which school became involved in the emotional experiences of the child. Only one child in the entire class responded that happiness was directly related to the experience of school. She responded that she was happy when she did her "work." Others responded that playing with friends, traveling, and receiving gifts brought happiness. In a similar fashion, unhappiness was described overwhelmingly in terms of interpersonal realtions in which the child experienced a sense of rejection. Only a very few children (two) mentioned doing poorly in school as causing them unhappiness. The description of events and circumstances of happiness and its opposite were such that they could not be distinguished by reading group. Children in all three groups indicated that the crucial importance of friendship and the fear of rejection were paramount in their experiencing of happy or unhappy situations and emotions.

An often repeated statemtnt of Mrs. Benson was that the children in her class spent extensive amounts of time in "day-dreaming." As one check on this belief held by the teacher, the children were themselves asked if they did think "about other things" during class. There is some basis from the response of the children that they did think about other things during class. Whether their thinking constituted what Mrs. Benson referred to as day-dreaming is not known. Seven of the Tigers acknowledged that they have thoughts on other things during class as did seven of the Cardinals. Five of the Clowns also indicated so. Few of the children in the class stated that any of the feelings experienced during class are kept from others. Those who did say that they experienced such feelings indicated that it was primarily embarrassment or shame over poor grades that they sought to keep from their classmates.

Within the set of questions concerned with the child's perception of desired adult roles and evaluation of present performance, there appeared clear differences among the three reading groups. The children within the Tiger group expressed clear preference for middle class occupational roles. This was especially evident among the girls where nursing and teaching were the only two answers given. The addition of working class occupational roles was added in both the Cardinals and Clowns where mention was made, besides nursing and teaching, of babysitting and also being a mother. Likewise, girls in both the Cardinal and Clown groups did not know what they desired to become as they grew older, while all girls in the Tiger group stated some occupational goal. There did not appear to be quite the clear inclusion of working class roles with the boys of the middle and lower reading groups as was the case with the girls. Professional roles of doctor and lawyer were interspersed among roles of house painter and truck driver. The majority of children in all three groups indicated that they believed school would help them to prepare for their future occupational roles.

It would, of course, be a mistake to take the statements of the children literally in relation to their projection of future adult occupational roles and also the influence of the school in helping to achieve them. They are still too distant from the adult world for their answers to have been tempered with experience and age. Nevertheless, there were variations in stated occupational roles and also in the value placed on the contribution of the school. Those in the highest reading group among the girls all accepted a middle-class occupational role as their future goal while such was not the case for the remainder of the girls in the class. At the second grade level there appeared among some children a generalized picture of the hierarchy of status involved in the choice of a profession and their position in relation to such a selection. For others, there appeared to be unrealistic aspirations for future occupational positions. This phenomenon of the low income black child selecting high status positions such as doctor or lawyer has been documented in a number of studies. Lott and Lott (1967) have explored the results of many of the studies on this topic and note the need for consideration of rural to urban migration and also movement from south to north as significant in explaining the aspirations of the children. (For a summary of studies detailing the influence of the parents on such aspirations for the children, see Snostack and Gomberg, 1964.)

When a child encounters difficulty in completing an arithmetic or reading assignment, the location in one of the three reading groups appears of significance in what measures the child will take. While a majority of the Tigers will seek help from the teacher, only half of the Cardinals would do so and only a fourth of the Clowns would go to the teacher. The Clowns also internalized an apparent negative self-image when they could not complete work. Several commented that they thought they were "dumb" or else simply that they "get wrongs" on their papers. Also, going from the Tigers to the Clowns, a fewer number of children thought they were doing well in their studies and an increasing number thought that others were doing better work than were they. An acceptable self-evaluation decreased and evaluation of others as "doing better" increased.

The sixth and last major area covered in the interview concerned how the children perceived the expectations of the teacher in relation to their behavior and performance in class. Basically, the children were asked what the teacher liked and disliked and "what she did about it." For the Tigers, the large majority (67 percent) of students indicated that good behavior was the most important manner in which to make the teacher happy. There could not be determined by the responses of the Tigers any single dominant manner in which they perceived how the teacher responded to their behavior which had made her "happy." One-fourth of the group indicated that they did not know how the teacher responded in any way to being happy. The remaining responses were quite diversified. For the Cardinals, the behavior of the students was not the majority response (14 percent), but such situations as bringing the teacher candy or drawing a funny face were as prone to make her happy. Again, there was a diversity of responses in describing how the teacher responded. Answers of giving candy or a party as well as smiling were given. It is only with the Clowns that there is the first mention of academic performance of the students in the class as being a manner in which the students could make the teacher happy. One-half of the group indicated that this was the case. For the remaining half, bring candy, playing records or not talking were seen as sources of making the teacher happy. The response of Mrs. Benson to the behavior of the students was again described in a variety of ways indicating no clear pattern.

When the children were asked what made the teacher unhappy and what she did in response, the children were nearly unanimous in both the description of their own behavior and the expected response from the teacher. In all three groups, students talking out loud, being on the floor and not listening to the teacher were seen as causing her unhappiness. As to how she responded, there was little if any variance in the descriptions of all the children in the class. One word repeated by the children was "whoppin'. The teacher was continually described as responding with physical violence to the misbehavior of the students. Academic performance was not seen as a significant cause of unhappiness for the teacher.

It is maintained by progressive educationalists and a number of educational ideologies that discipline should be a part of the classroom experience only so far as it is necessary to aid the learning experience. It is not to be an end in itself. However, from the responses of the children in the second grade classroom, it is indicated that the very area of discipline itself is most salient to the teacher's expression of approval or disapproval. The emphasis of the teacher on the forms of routinized patterns of "proper" behavior appears to place the child in the position of receiving reward or punishment for other than performance related to the learning experience. A number of writers have commented on the fact that the organization of the school and the heavy emphasis on discipline and routinized behavior gives rise to a custodial approach to the treatment of the children. This is, they claim, opposed to the stated objectives that the school is to serve as an educational institution. Silberman (1967), for example, writes:

> . . .it is overwhelmingly clear that one of the principal reasons children do not learn is that the schools are organized to facilitate administration rather than learning--to make it easier for teachers and principals to maintain order rather than to make it easier for children to learn. Indeed, to a degree that we are just beginning to appreciate as a result of the writings of such critics as Edgar Z. Friedenberg, John Holt, and Bev Kaufamn, schools and classrooms are organized so at to prevent learning or teaching from taking place.

Though such an indictment of the organization of education may be disputed, the description of the second grade students as to what makes Mrs. Benson unhappy and what they can expect from her when she is, indicates that the presence of discipline within the class may have functions beyond merely the establishment of a milieu to foster learning and creativity. To know very well the consequences of failure in adhering to behavioral norms within Mrs. Benson's class may instill more than only compliance and conformity in the children. The threat of physical violence may produce the conformity the teacher desires, but at the expense of destroying any pretense of learning.

VI. FROM A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE: THE TEACHER

As a supplement to the observational method in determining the basis within the classroom for the socialization of the children and the development of social organization, those who are directly involved in the activity may be asked to describe their understanding of the classroom situation. In the previous section, discussion focused on the perceptions of the children as one group pf participants within the classroom milieu. Other than the children, the single crucial participant in the class is, of course, the teacher. For the person who assumes the role of teacher vis-a-vis the students, there is granted through the organization of the institution a high degree of power and authority. It is she who may grant or withhold privileges, pass or fail, reward or punish, encourage or rebuke the children within her class.

In an attempt to learn more about the teacher and her perceptions of the classroom, the students and her role as teacher, a series of four interviews were conducted during two weeks in October of 1969. A number of concerns were discussed in the interviews. For example, what was her satisfaction with her position and students, her perception of what is involved in the teaching and learning processes, values and attitudes that she brought into the classroom situation, and whether she held differential expectations for the various groups of students in the class. The following are believed to be pertinent aspects of the interviews related to the concerns noted above.

> Mrs. Benson, Do you like teaching? "Oh yes, very much. I really enjoy working with children. I'd like for the children to be a little older. I would like to teach third or fourth grade. They seem to catch on quicker and you don't have to spend so much time getting them ready to do something. I sure do like teaching. But you know, I sure did not like Harris Teachers College. That place didn't do nothing for me. I was so glad to get out of there. When I look back now, I can't think of a single thing that I learned there that I have used since I started teaching. When I left Harris, I really thought I was not going to like teaching, but now that I am into it, I really love it."

> Mrs. Benson, do you believe that it is easy to get through to second graders? "It's not easy, no, because second graders have an attention span that is so short. They day-dream a lot. They just stare out of the window for long periods of time. But by the third grade they are more settled down."

> Mrs. Benson, nowadays, one hears a lot about the term "cultural deprivation." Do you believe that this term applies to any of your second grade students? "Yes, definitely. A lot of them had never seen the downtown before we took our bus ride. I think that most of these children get their cultural experiences through the school. They really wouldn't have any cultural education if it was not for the school because most of these children are in families that don't have the time, money or interest in their children to take them places and do things with them. But I know that is not true for all my students--especially for my Tigers."

> Mrs. Benson, do you have any perception that you and the children may come from different backgrounds? "Yes, I notice that when I went to school kids were not as rageed as they are now. Now they are down right dirty. They come to school and they are absolutely filthy. I can never remember so ragged kids

as now. Some of these kids even come to school without underwear. I guess times must be harder now than they used to be."

Mrs. Benson, I suppose that people come to a profession like teaching with certain ideals. Would you say that it was true for you? "I am sure I did, but I can't remember them. I just thought teaching was a very noble profession."

Mrs. Benson, in what ways has teaching come to your ideals: "Oh, I still think teaching is noble, though it is not as easy as I thought it would be. I thought it would be an easy way to get an education and an easy job. But it sure hasn't turned out that way."

Mrs. Benson, what is the biggest thing that keeps you going to continue teaching? "I just love children and I like to teach. I enjoy what I am doing. There is never a dull moment in this room. Children are constantly changing. I guess it is the children themselves that keep me going."

Mrs. Benson, what would you put down on the negative side? "Oh, I guess it is all the paper work after school. There is really a lot of time that I have to spend grading papers. It gets so boring and tiring."

Mrs. Benson, what do you find the most difficult thing to put up with? "Discipline is pretty hard to stand around here sometimes. Some of these kids just go wild."

In addition to asking questions of the teacher related to her general value orientation towards teaching and what she considered to be the plusses and minuses of her role as a teacher, specific questions were posed regarding the three reading groups in the class. Also her perception of the future of the children was inquired. Her responses were reminiscent of those of the kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Caplow, two years earlier.

Mrs. Benson, how would you describe the Tigers in terms of their learning ability and academic performance? "Well, they are my fastest group. They are very smart."

Mrs. Benson, how would you describe the Tigers in terms of discipline matters? "The Tigers are very talkative. Laura, Mary and Virginia, they are always runnin' their mouths constantly, but they get their work done first. I don't have

> much trouble with them."
>
> Mrs. Benson, what value do you think the Tigers hold for an education? "They all feel an education is important and most of them have goals in life as to what they want to be. They mostly want to go to college."

The same questions were asked of the teaching concerning the Cardinals.

> Mrs. Benson, how would you describe the Cardinals in terms of learning ability and academic performance? "They are slow to finish their work. . .but they do get finished. You know, a lot of them though, don't care to come to school too much. Hal, Audrey and Edith are absent quite a bit. The Tigers are never absent."
>
> Mrs. Benson, what value do you think the Cardinals hold for an education? "Well, I don't think they have as much interest in education as do the Tigers, but you know it is hard to say. Most will like to come to school, but the parents will keep them from coming. They either have to babysit or the clothes are dirty. These are some of the excuses that the parents often give. But I guess most of the Cardinals want to go on and finish and go on to college. A lot of them have ambitions when they grow up. It's mostly the parents' fault that they are not at school more often."

As indicated in an earlier section of this chapter, Mrs. Benson appeared to perceive the major gap in academic performance and potential as lying between those in the Cardinal group and those in the Clown group. Thus she appeared to see the Tigers and the Cardinals as much closer in performance and potential than the Cardinals and the Clowns. Her responses to the questions concerning the Clowns appear to lend further credence to this interpretation.

> Mrs. Benson, How would you describe the Clowns in terms of learning ability and academic performance? 'Well, they are really show. You know most of them are still doing first grade work."
>
> Mrs. Benson, how would you describe the Clowns in terms of discipline matters? "They are very playful. They like to talk a lot. They are not very neat. They like to talk a

> lot and play a lot. When I read to them, boy, do they have a good time. You know, the Tigers and the Cardinals will sit quietly and listen when I read to them, but the Clowns, they are always so restless. They always want to stand up. When we read, it is really something else. You know, Alice and Amy especially like to stand up. All these children, too, are very aggressive."

> Mrs. Benson, what value do you think the Clowns hold for an education? "I don't think very much. I don't think education means much to them at this stage. I know it doesn't mean anything to Lou and Nick. To most of the kids, I don't think it really matters at this stage.

Two additional questions were asked of the teacher concerning the children, though they were not phrased in as direct terms as were the previous inquiries on the Tigers, Cardinals and Clowns.

> Mrs. Benson, what do you believe will come of these children in life? "I think they want to be better than their parents since their parents had so many kids. They will try to make a better life for themselves than their parents had. Most will want to go to college and finish their education. But you know a few are not going to make it. They are not going anywhere. But most of them are good kids. There is such a strong emphasis on education to get the good jobs that they will want to go on and finish, especially the Tigers. I know most of them will want to go to college.

> Mrs. Benson, you mentioned that a few of the children are "not going to go anywhere." Can you tell me more about that? "For example, take Nick. He is not going to do anything. Lou might straighten up. He likes to do his work, but it is always wrong. Curt won't amount to very much and neither will Orlando. Amy tries, but she just hasn't got it. Lilly is the type that will drop out and go to work. She doesn't have the kind of clothes she wants and she is very self-conscious about the clothes she wears now. The kids in the class are always making fun of the clothes she wears now. Lilly will probably drop out and go get the clothes she wants. But that is the worst thing she could do. Getting an education is so much more important. This is the way it goes for a lot of the students in the class. They just are not going to go anywhere.

At the end of the fourth interview, Mrs. Benson was asked if she would be willing to complete a short evaluative form on each of the children within the class. She willingly agreed. Two days later she was given one form for each child in the class. The single page form consisted of listing eight variables for each of which there was a scale from one to nine. The teacher was to mark on the scale the degree to which she believed the variable described the child in question. A low score indicated that the teacher perceived that the child possessed few of the traits necessary to be classified as strongly displaying that particular variable. Figure 8.2 is a sample of the evaluation form given to the teacher.

Since the data were collected by means of an ordinal scale, tests such as the "F test" which require the presence of interval data could not be used. (Had the ranking assumed the characteristics of interval data, the "F test" would appear to have been the most appropriate.) The necessity of viewing the data as being on an ordinal scale resulted from the facts that the sample size was often quite small and the evaluations of the teacher produced a number of ties. The test utilized to determine the presence or absence of statistical significance in the teacher evaluations was the Mann-Whitney or Wilcoxon Test, designed for two sample non-parametric data (Blalock, 1960).

Name of Student ________________________________

Dear Teacher:

Would you please rate the above named child on each of the eight variables listed below? Please place an "X" at any point along the line where you believe it will best describe the child in relation to the particular characteristic.

1) Curiosity

1 3 5 7 9

(Very Low) (Very High)

2) Interest in School

1 3 5 7 9

(Very Low) (Very High)

3) Future Success

1 3 5 7 9

(Very Low) (Very High)

4) Adjusted (Psychologically)

1 3 5 7 9

(Very Low) (Very High)

5) Happy

1 3 5 7 9

(Very Seldom) (Very Often)

6) Affectionate

1 3 5 7 9

(Very Seldom) (Very Often)

7) Hostile

1 3 5 7 9

(Very Seldom) (Very Often)

8) Needs Approval

1 3 5 7 9

(Very Seldom) (Very Often)

Figure 8.2. Sample of Evaluation Form Given to Teacher (Mrs. Benson) in the Second Grade, 1969 -1970.

Very few significant differences between the various groups were observed. Analysis was conducted on each of the three groups in their entirety and also by sex for each of the eight variables. Thus there were 72 possible relationships that could have displayed statistical significance. Of this total, eight did so. The choice was made to present statistically significant correlations only at the .05 and the .01 levels. Comparison of the following groups yielded scores of significant correlation. Probability of the null hypothesis being rejected (that is, the probability that the apparent relationship occurred fortuitously) is enclosed in parenthesis for each of the eight significant correlations:

Variable 1--none.

Variable 2--none.

Variable 3--Tigers-Cardinals (.05).
Tigers-Clowns (.01).
Tigers-Cardinals (Female), (.05).
Tigers-Clowns (Female), (.01).

Variable 4--none.

Variable 5--none.

Variable 6--Tigers-Clowns (Female), (.05).
Cardinals-Clowns (Female), (.05).

Variable 7--none.

Variable 8--Tigers-Clowns (Female), (.05).
Cardinals-Clowns (Female), (.05).

The results of the analysis present only a tentative basis for any interpretive statements. In regard to Variable 3 (Future Success), the results indicate that the teacher perceived that there were significant differences in the future success opportunities for those in the Tiger group as opposed to those within the two remaining reading groups.

The scores given by the teacher on this particular variable indicate that she perceived a much higher possibility of success for the Tigers than for either of the other two groups. Likewise, the Tiger females were perceived as having a higher likelihood of future success than were either the females in the Cardinal or Clown groups. No significant differences were observed for her evaluation of the potential of future success for the males in any of the three groups.

The findings of significance for the females on both Variable 6 (Affection) and Variable 8 (Needs Approval) may be interpreted that the Tiger and Cardinal females were perceived as less affectionate and also in less need of approval. The description of the Clown females as highest on both variables may indicate that the teacher perceived this particular group as somewhat infantile, displaying behavioral patterns not associated with the more mature and self-sufficient females in both the Tiger and Cardinal groups. This interpretation appears to coincide with both the teacher's description of the three gruups during the interview and also her descriptions of the performance of the children on the progress reports. The Clowns are described as "playful," "talkative," and "aggressive," all adjectives ascribed to neither the Tigers or Cardinals as a group.

VIII. IN THE CLASSROOM: THROUGH TO CHRISTMAS

During the two weeks of interviews with the children, I was continually in the classroom, but not visible to either the students or to the teacher. From the coatroom, I was able to hear most of the verbal interchanges that occurred between the teacher and the students.

Likewise, I was able to hear much of the conversations of those children in the Clown group who sat near to the entrance to the coatroom. In the two-week period, several events occurred which did not occur prior to my beginning the interviews and did not occur again after they were completed and I was back in the classroom proper. At the end of several days of interviews, notes were made from memory on my impressions of the day in the classroom which I heard but did not observe. The following is a summary of those impressions made during the two-week interview period.

> My general impression is that the classroom has been the scene of more harsh language, more ridicule of the children, and more physical punishment of the children than I had observed to date. I heard the teacher hit three children with a ruler. Likewise, I heard the first overt comments to the class by the teacher to the effect that the Clowns were such poor readers and much more noisy than the remainder of the students. I was able to hear a good deal more inter-group conflict among the Clowns than I had noted previously. The children in the group appeared to be constantly bickering with one another and there were constant threats of "telling the teacher" or "takin' care of you after school." The Tigers also directed a considerable amount of ridicule towards the Clowns. I heard Mary say on at least two occasions, "What else can you expect? They are only Clowns." Mrs. Benson was also heard on three occasions to threaten the Clown group that she would not teach them again for the remainder of the school year if they did not "shut up" because she did not like teaching "noisy people."

October 31; Halloween Party

Though I know of no stated policy by the Board of Education that Halloween is to be celebrated within the city schools with parties and parades, it appears that custom has prevailed and that a yearly event is the school parade and class parties. In the second grade classroom, Mrs. Benson has asked the children to come in costume. Of the six children in the class who wore complete outfits, five were among those who sat in the Tiger group. The sixth was Lou, a Clown. As I entered the room, Mrs. Benson was pointing a stick at a group of boys from the Tiger and Cardinal groups who were playing with one another on the floor. Mrs. Benson told them to "get off the floor and quit actin' like Clowns." She also commented, "Joe, I am surprised at you. You are actin' just like one of those Clowns."

The only mother who attended the party was the mother of Mary, who is a Tiger. She had brought a punch bowl and a half dozen cans of Hawaiian punch. She also donated four packages of Oreo cookies. She was engaged for the first twenty minutes of the activities serving punch and cookies to the children. After the children had all been served, Mrs. Benson told them to sit until everyone was finished. During the time that the children were eating, Mary's mother, Mrs. Benson, and I sat in the front of the room by the teacher's desk. The mother began to quiz Mrs. Benson concerning Mary. The first question directed to the teacher was whether she believed that "Mary was a sloppy child." Mrs. Benson indicated that Mary was, at times, but that it was due to her working so rapidly. Secondly, the mother inquired whether Mrs. Benson had difficulty with Mary since she was an only child. Mrs. Benson indicated that she had not and that Mary was one of her best students. Mary's mother then went on to comment that Mary expresses a strong sense of competition with Laura on class activities. The mother related that Mary will come home with a paper that has only one error and cry because Laura has a paper with no errors.

The mother commented, "I think one of the best things that has happened for Mary is the competition with Laura. Now she works so hard to keep up with her. You know, it would be good if everyone had a Laura in their life, because then they would work so much harder." Mrs. Benson noted that Laura is also an only child.

At this time Mary came to the front and introduced Alice to her mother. She told her mother that Alice was one of her best friends. Mrs. Benson responded, apparently quite surprised, "Why, Mary, I didn't know Alice was one of your best friends." Mary's mother says, "Oh, Mary has all types of friends." Neither Mary nor Alice made any response and both went back to their seats. Mrs. Benson stated that she wished she could think of some games to play with the children. I suggested musical chairs since there was a record player in the room. She immdeiately agreed and began to organize the class. Several of the girls sat on the floor. She commented, "You are all acting like Clowns. Get up off that floor."

At the end of several games of musical chairs (in which the only children who did not participate due to the lack of chairs were six of the Clowns), Mrs. Benson passed to the children small bags of Halloween candy. She told them to all go to their seats to eat the candy. The children complied. Mrs. Benson then returned to her desk and again began talking with Mrs. Gordon, Mary's mother. Mrs. Benson began pointing out children in the room making short comments to the mother about each child. Her comments were generally non-descript except for several of the Tigers whom she commented were very good students. She also noted that for Nick and Curt "there was no hope." She related that she had applied to send both the boys to special education classes.

The mother then asked the teacher if she had to often "whip" the children. Mrs. Benson responded, "not too often" because most of the time "you can get them to do what you want just by talking to them." Mrs. Gordon responded that she has tried that with Mary, but that sometimes there seemed to be nothing to do but whip her. Mrs. Benson agreed that sometimes a whipping "was the best thing for them." The mother asked the teacher if she had any special technique that she used and the teacher responded that she preferred a ruler. The mother commented that she liked for Mary to "bend over" and then use her hand. Mrs. Benson noted that the ruler did not force her to hit the child "directly." The teacher then told the class that they could dance to records that Mary and Joyce had brought for the party. The teacher and Mrs. Gordon remained sitting at the front talking until ten minutes before the dismissal bell, when they began to straighten the room and dispose of the paper. The two women began to refer to one another as "girl," dropping the formal address that was used in the early part of their conversation.

November 3

As noted previously in this chapter, Mrs. Benson spent the majority of her teaching time with either the Tiger or Cardinal reading group. On this day occurred another example of the manner in which an academic assignment was given to the Cardinals and a non-academic assignment to the Clowns.

> Mrs. Benson instructs the Cardinals to take out their notebooks for a spelling lesson. Just prior to her leaving her desk to go back to the Cardinal group, she calls Alice to her. She gives Alice one sheet of paper for each of the students in the Clown group and instructs the group that they are to draw a picture for the next 25 minutes of a "Thanksgiving dinner." Nick responds, "Huh?" Mrs. Benson turns to him and says, "Boy, I didn't say for you to talk, hear?" She then takes her chair and goes to the rear of the room where she begins the lesson with the Cardinals. The Tigers are involved in a three-page arithmetic assignment.

During the lesson with the Cardinals, the performance of Earl and Carol, the two children held back by the teacher, was consistently good. They answered questions when others in the group could not. Mrs. Benson continually went to these two students for the answers after asking several others in the Cardinals who gave incorrect responses. For example, when Mrs. Benson showed the class the Table of Contents in the book, she received the following responses from other students before calling on Earl for the correct response. When asked what the listing of the stories and lessons in the front of the book was called, Robert said, "magazine," and Doug said "stories" before Earl was called upon to respond, which he then did correctly. Likewise, when asking the group which page to turn to for the lesson, several incorrect pages were suggested before Carol gave the correct page number.

During the lesson with the Cardinals in the rear of the room, Mrs. Benson continued her routine of not calling on any child who did not first raise his hand. On two occasions, correct answers were ignored because the child had failed to raise his hand. To be called upon to respond required the absolute silence of the child prior to his being selected. For the other two groups in the room, Mrs. Benson also maintained silence among the children. If a child was heard talking, she would comment, "You are disturbing our room." She also asked the class on one occasion who was talking. When the child was pointed out by classmates, she told the child that if there was any further talking, he would not be allowed to go to the library. The children informing the teacher on the behavior of one another did not always take a stimulus question from the teacher. They occasionally offered to inform on another child without being asked to do so.

> Lou calls out to Mrs. Benson in a rather loud voice, "Mrs. Benson, Amy disturbin' me." Amy replies, "Mrs. Benson, I ain't disturbin' him. They keep on meddlin' with me." Mrs. Benson turns to Amy and with a very harsh voice says, "Girl, shut your mouth up." Amy bows her head and Lou smiles.

What must continually be kept in mind with such an incident is that the child who informs on another student is not guaranteed that the teacher will believe him and direct control-oriented remarks at the accused. The situation where the teacher ignores the one accused and turns her remarks back to the very child making the accusations occurred with equal frequency. Yet the children who make accusations are apparently willing to take the risk of the teacher turning her control on them. What may have been developing within the class was a process of selective reinforcement where the teacher's periodic acceptance of their accusations was sufficient to continue a pattern of classroom behavior and interaction. (Cf. Brown, 1965; Festinger, 1957; Homans, 1961; and Sears, 1951 for extended discussion of selective reinforcement and its relationship to the development of behavioral patterns.)

November 4

On this date Mrs. Benson had scheduled the single field trip of the school year for the class. They were to be accompanied on the trip by the first grade. The itinerary of the trip, as planned by Mrs. Benson, was to drive first through the downtown section of the city and along the levee of the Mississippi River. The second half of the trip was then to be a tour through the large city park on the west edge of the city where the children were to see the part of the zoo, a large bird cage, ponds with ducks and numerous buildings that were only mentioned by name. The bus was quite crowded, in fact, seven over the maximum capacity listed on a sign above the driver.

After driving through the city and along the river front, the two classes stopped at the Old Courthouse in the heart of the downtown area. Here the children were allowed thirty minutes to go through the building. They were accompanied by the teachers and walked in a long column, two by two. At no point were either of the teachers heard to explain to any students the significance of the building and what place it has in American history. No mention was made, for example, of the Dred Scott decision handed down in the courthouse. In one of the chambers, the teacher asked who sat in the large chair. No one in the class replied. Mrs. Benson said, "That is where the judge sits. Now say judge." About half the class repeated the word. The greatest excitement of the children during the first part of the tour appeared to be their short travel along the levee. They were extremely excited about the boats and made numerous comments about their size. They appeared little impressed with the Arch and the teachers continually told them to turn from looking at the boats and look at the Arch. Very few did so for any period of time. The fascination was the river and the boats.

During the second part of the tour through the park and parts of the zoo, the children appeared to enjoy themselves immensely. They were continually pointing out things to one another, especially when they first observed ducks on one of the ponds in the park. There was a continual stream of talking throughout the entire period that the class was in the park. The teachers several times asked for quiet in the bus, but to little avail. The children also appeared to express pleasure over their walk through the large bird cage and continued to point out to one another features of the birds that appealed to them. Later, as the bus driver jokingly asked the class if they wished to spend all day on the bus and not go home until nine o'clock, all the children cheered their agreement. The children appeared to genuinely enjoy themselves on the tour. This was the case even in spite of what I believed to be excessive demands by both teachers for orderliness and quietness among the children. The two most striking incidents in which the teachers sought to maintain control over the children occurred in the courthouse and in the bird cage. In the courthouse when the children were on the second floor, Mrs. Benson threatened to throw any child over the side who did not cease talking and move down the stairs near the wall. In the bird cage, the children were also threatened to be thrown over the side, but this time among the birds "who will eat you up." The children were throughout the trip arranged in a long column whenever they left the bus. When on the bus the teachers continually asked for silence, and often found themselves in competition, not only with the excitement of the children, but with the bus driver who carried on conversations with many children as could hear him.

November 14

Within the St. Louis Public School system, progress reports are sent to the parents at the end of each of the four ten-week sessions during the school year. Mrs. Benson sent home the cards on the eleventh of November and all were returned by the fourteenth. Note was made of each report, along with grades, attendance record, teacher's comments to the parents and the response, if any, from the parent. The following is a summary of the report sent by the teacher to each parent and the comments on the card when returned by the child three days later.

For the Tigers, gold stars given in recognition of academic performance were on the reports of Laura, Anne, Diane, Liza, Joyce, Joe, Mary and Rose. Blue stars to recognize perfect attendance during the quarter were given to Martha, Tom, Virginia, Mary, Laura, Anne, and Diane. Mrs. Benson commented on eight of the reports in an identical manner. Her statement was as follows: "(Name) is progressing very nicely. Please continue to encourage him/her." For four children in the Tiger reading group, Mrs. Benson made additional comments. For Tom, she wrote, "Tom is progressing very nicely, but works a little too slowly. Please continue to encourage him. Your help is greatly appreciated." On the report of Martha, Mrs. Benson commented, "Martha needs much encouragement to speed up her work. With greater speed in finishing her work, her grades could possibly be higher." To the parents of Rose was noted, "Rose is doing very nicely in her work, but needs more encouragement to be less talkative." Finally, for Anne

Mrs. Benson wrote, "Anne is progressing very nicely but works a little too slowly. Please continue to encourage her to do her best." In response to the teacher, five mothers of children in the Tiger group wrote short notes. Laura's mother said, "I was very pleased with Laura's report card." From the mother of Mary, "We'll do our best in encouraging Mary." Virginia's mother stated, "I am very pleased about Virginia's report card. We'll encourage her morer /sic/ as well as help her." Stephen's mother responded, "I am happy to know that Stephen is doing well in school and I hope he will continue." Finally, Rose's mother wrote, "Mrs. Benson, Rose is very talkative here at home and I wish that you could help me keep her quiet. You may punish her whenever it is needed and I will try to improve on my part."

Within the group of Cardinals, only two students received gold stars for academic performance. They were given to Earl and Carol, the two children especially placed in the group by Mrs. Benson. Blue stars for perfect attendance were given to Curt, Lilly, and Doug. For seven of the Cardinals, the same comment was made to the parents as was the case with the Tigers: "(Name) is progressing very nicely. Please continue to encourage him/her." Other comments are noted as follows. To the Parents of Roy, "Roy is doing fine in his work but he works a little too slowly. Please encourage him to speed up his work. This might help pull up his grades." For the parents of Lena, "Lena is progressing very nicely, but is absent a little too much. With better attendance there could be improvement in her grades. Please continue to encourage her in her work." On both Curt's and Dan's report, "Dan (Curt) is progressing nicely but is too talkative and playful. Please encourage him to play less and work more. Your help is greatly appreciated." To Trish's parents, "Trish has trouble following directions and in reading. She needs much more help in her studies. Please do all you can to encourage her to do better work." To the parents of Earl, "Earl is doing fine in his work, but he works a little too slowly. Please continue to encourage him to do his best and speed up his work." Finally, on the report of Lilly, "Lilly is progressing very nicely, but talks a little too much. Please encourage her to talk less and work more. Your help is greatly appreciated." Comments were made on the reports by the parents of four children. On Lena's card, "I hope Lena approves [sic] in her attendance, I'm very proud of her grades although she can do better." From the mother of Dan, "I am gois [sic] to do my best to make Dan study moor [sic] and quit play's [sic] and talk's [sic]." Carol's mother wrote, "I am very glad that Carol is doing well. We will continue to work with her on this end and hope you will do likewise." The last comment was from the mother of Doug. "Dear teacher, I hope Doug will continue to progress thank you."

Within the Clown reading group, no student was given a gold star. Three students, Nick, Lou and Amy, did receive a blue star for perfect attendance. Only one child, Jim, received the standard comment from Mrs. Benson to his parents. On the report of each of the remaining eight students in the group, Mrs. Benson made individual comments. For Nick, Mrs. Benson commented, "Nick daydreams a lot, and therefore is very inatentive [sic]. He doesn't follow directions and never finishes a paper. Please encourage him to pay closer attention to directions and work harder." To the parents of Lou, "Lou is very playful and inatentive [sic]. Please encourage him to be less playful and to work harder." For Amy's report, "Amy works nicely but can't seem to follow directions. Therefore her work is usually wrong. Please encourage her to be more attentive and work harder. She also talks a little too much." On the report of Paul, "Works nicely, but a little too slow. Please encourage him to speed up his work." To Orlando's parents, "Orlando finishes his work very hurriedly and sloppily. He uses the rest of his time for talk and play. Please encourage him to work more and play less." For Rema's parents, Mrs. Benson wrote, "Rema is doing much better in her work. Please encourage her to do her best. She needs much help in arithemtic." For Audrey's parents, "Audrey takes very little interest in her school work. She needs much encouragement to better in her lessons." Finally, to the parents of Alice, "Alice does nice work but tends to be very playful and talkative at times. Please encourage her to take her work more seriously." In response to the comments of the teacher four parents of students in the Clown reading group wrote short notes to Mrs. Benson. From the mother of Lou, "Dear teacher, all I can say is whip him good about that playing and work." From the mother of Amy, "Amy can do better and no /sic/ I am going to tighten down on her." Paul's mother wrote, "He did ok, but could have did /sic/ better." Finally, from Orlando's mother was the following, "Will you please whip Orlando when he is playing and talking. I will see that he study /sic/ more at home."

Other than the rather perfunctory remarks that Mrs. Benson made to parents of more than half of the class, all her comments appeared to center on the behavioral aspects of the students' performance in the class. The three areas most often mentioned were talking, playing and working too slowly on assignments. To ask the parents to encourage their son or daughter to work faster, play less or talk less implies that the parent has some influence on the processes of interaction and performance operant in the classroom. The question remains unanswered as to what impact such encouragement from the parent would actually have on the child and his interactional patterns with both the teacher and his peers. It may also be noted that given the continual statements of Mrs. Benson that she receives very little support from the parents of her students and that they appear not to have interest in the class, the type of support and interest that she requested from nearly every parent related to the behavioral aspects of the classroom experience, not to the learning aspects. What it appears that Mrs. Benson most desired from the parents was their support in making their children quiet and passive so that they would not be "talkative and playful." Such behavior noted in a previous section of the chapter is a desired means to create a more efficient organization, not necessarily to foster more learning. The parents were asked, it appears, to participate in the behavioral modification of their children, but not in the learning development.

November 26

During the month of October, a professional photographer came to the school and took color pictures of each of the students. The parents were then able to buy a set of these pictures of their son or daughter for approximately two dollars per set. Of this amount, fifty cents is donated to the school and the remaining $1.50 is the remibursement to the photographer. The photographer returned the proofs to the school just prior to the Thanksgiving vacation. The children were not allowed to take the pictures home to show their parents in order that they may see them before they buy. It was a decision of the principal not to allow the pictures out of the building because he claimed that a large number of the proofs were never returned. Each teacher was given the proofs for her class. The children were able to see them one time.

On the 26th, Mrs. Benson spent the first thirty-five minutes after noon recess individually showing the children the proofs of their pictures. She explained that she was showing the pictures to the children "the slow way" because she indicated that she had "a hard morning and didn't feel like teaching any more today. Today just isn't the day to do any teaching." During the time that she showed each child his picture, the light was off in the room. She also had the children practice the songs "Come Ye Thankful People, Come," "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and "America, America" for the Thanksgiving assembly that was to begin at 1:45 p.m. The program was being sponsored by the primary grades (K through 3) and was to be related to the celebration of Thanksgiving. During the practice of the songs, Mrs. Benson told several of the children that if they sang "that way on the stage, I come grab you right off there."

After the children had sung through each of the songs twice, Rose came to Mrs. Benson and asked if she and several of the other girls in the class could come to the front and sing for the class. Mrs. Benson indicated that it was permissible. Rose then selected Mary, Anne and Virginia to come and stand with her in the front of the room. They began to sing "Come Ye Thankful People, Come," but completed only half of the song when Rose turned to Mrs. Benson and said that they were going to stop because no one in the class would listen to them. Mrs. Benson then spoke to the class in a loud and harsh voice, telling the class to "shut up and listen to the girls." When they finished there was only scattered and very little applause for the four girls. When the girls finished, Mrs. Benson organized the class to leave the room. Laura, Mary and Joyce were excused from the class as they were the only second graders with speaking parts in the skit presented by the third grade students. The remainder of the second and all of the first grade students were to stand on the stage as a large chorus. The kindergarten class was going to perform an Indian dance as a prayer for corn.

In the gymnasium were approximately three hundred students, both from Attucks school and also one of the branch schools nearby. The assistant principal greeted Mrs. Benson at the door to the gym with the words, "You are a little late, aren't you?" Mrs. Benson replied that they were not late because the program was not to begin until 1:45 p.m. The assistant principal indicated that he thought the program was to begin at 1:30 p.m. In addition to the teacher, students and school administration present for the performance, there were also a number of others at the rear of the gym. From the second grade class were the mothers of May and Tom. The program lasted for forty minutes. It both opened and closed with a prayer.

December 5

The presence of materials in the classroom that related to the seasonal activity of the year was a part of the second grade classroom as well as it had been in the kindergarten. During the Christmas season, Mrs. Benson had extensively decorated the room in the Christmas motif. There were three different pictures of the Nativity, two pictures of Santa Claus, and one of snow-covered fields. There was also a small artificial poinsetta on her desk. There were only two displays in the classroom that were not related to Christmas. The first was the "Reminders" bulletin board which Mrs. Benson used for her notes and memos from the office. The second board that was not in the Christmas motif was in the rear to the right. On this board was the phrase in red letters on a yellow background, "We Try Harder." Below the wording were tacked six arithmetic papers, all graded with a gold star and a "100." The six papers all were done by children who sat in the Tiger reading group.

On the schedule printed by the Board of Education indicating the amount of time that the teacher should allocate to each activity through the day, ten minutes is set aside for "organization" when the children come in from the noon recess. In the second grade room of Mrs. Benson, the "organization" of the class after the noon period averaged between eighteen and twenty-five minutes. The following account of the period immediately after the noon recess is presented to give some indication of how the time was spent after the children came into the room from the playground. The notes from this day are not believed to be atypical from those of other early afternoon observational periods.

> The bell rings at 12:45 p.m. The children do not arrive in the room until 12:52 p.m. When the children enter, Mrs. Benson is not present. They go to their seats, but not all

sit. They are talking softly among themselves. Nick is told by Joe to stand near the door and watch for Mrs. Benson. He goes to the doorway and almost immediately comes back followed by Mrs. Benson who enters the room at 12:55 p.m. Alice goes to Mrs. Benson and shows her a can of soda that she is drinking. Mrs. Benson tells her to go back to her seat and try to finish it. Rose comes to the desk and asks Mrs. Benson if she may leave the room to look for her purse.✓ Mrs. Benson nods that she may. Mrs. Benson then asks the Tiger Girls to hang up their wraps. The remainder of the class she says are to be resting. The noise level does not diminish. She then says in a loud voice, "Somebody did not hear what I said, Lou." Immediately, Amy says, "Nick," but Mrs. Benson makes no response to either Amy or Nick. The Tiger boys, Cardinal girls and then the Cardinal boys are asked to hang up their wraps. Curt does not leave his seat as quickly as do the remainder of the Cardinal boys. Lou calls out, "Mrs. Benson, Curt won't hang up his coat." Curt then rises and walks by the seat of Lou toward the coatroom. As he passes Lou, he says, "Forget you, boy." Hal then calls from the coatroom that Curt has turned off the light. Mrs. Benson says, "I bet I am gonna make a lot of people absent if they don't hurry out of there." Rose returns with her purse. Mary and several of the other girls in the Tiger group tell Mrs. Benson that the reason that Rose always loses her purse is because she "is always chasin' boys." Mrs. Benson turns to the group of girls and says, "I would say that is none of your business." The Clowns as a group are told to hang up their wraps. Jim is asked why he does not have a re-entry slip since he was absent during the morning session. Jim explains that he was going to be late for school and was afraid to see the principal so he went back home. Mrs. Benson tells him that he should come anyway and go after this to see the assistant principal. Alice shows Mrs. Benson that she has finished the soda. Mrs. Benson tells her to put it in the wastebasket which Alice does. At 1:05 p.m. Mrs. Benson asks Nick to turn on the lights in the room. Mrs. Benson then asks Al why he was absent yesterday and where his re-entry slip is. Al explains that he does not have a slip. Mrs. Benson says that they will have to take care of the slip during the afternoon recess. Money is then collected from the children who wish Mrs. Benson to keep it until the afternoon dismissal. At 1:13 p.m. Mrs. Benson instructs the class to take out their spelling books to study spelling words.

December 10

At the beginning of the observational period, the Tigers were involved in completing an arithmetic assignment given earlier by Mrs.

Benson. The Cardinals were presently reading from a short play with Mrs. Benson and the Clowns were making Christmas cards from construction paper, writing verses and coloring scenes. In the Cardinal group, Hal, Lena and Carol were standing and reading their respective parts from a short story about a family going to the store to buy food. While the children stood reading their parts, Lilly sat tying her shoestrings. She had been sharing her book for weeks with Lena and when Lena needed the book for her part in the play, Lilly was left with no book in which she could follow the reading. The remainder of the children in the Cardinal group were able to follow the reading.

When the three children finished, Mrs. Benson ended the lesson and walked to her desk. At this time a student from the seventh grade came into the room and asked if her teacher could borrow Mrs. Benson's book of classroom decorating ideas. Mrs. Benson gave the book to the child who then left. As Mrs. Benson left the Cardinal group, Lilly immediately took out her reading workbook, Come Along, and began using a red crayon to answer questions on one of the pages. The only other student in the Cardinal group who began to work of his own initiative was Earl who also was working in his workbook. Shortly, Dan took out his arithmetic book and began work. Lilly put away her reading and took out her arithmetic book also. Lilly and Dan began to talk softly between themselves about the assignment. There was nodding and also shaking of heads as they spoke to one another. Both were actively engaged in doing arithmetic. Lilly looked up from her work as Mrs. Benson said to Lou in a loud voice, "Somebody sure wants to be an example, don't they? Now shut up and get to work." Lilly turned back to her book. Mrs. Benson shortly told the class to clear their desks of all papers and pencils. Lilly did not clear her desk until she first finished the problem that she was completing. Dan asked Lilly if she was finished and she nodded that she was. When Mrs. Benson told the class to open their spelling workbook to page fifty, Lilly repeated softly to herself, "fifty." As Mrs. Benson read the assignment on the page, Lilly read them along with her only moving her lips.

During this observational period, Laura was absent and the decision was made while in the classroom to concentrate intensively on Lilly for the remainder of the period. The following are notes from the observation that directly related to Lilly and her activities until the bell for noon recess.

> Mrs. Benson instructs the class to repeat with her each of the twenty words that will be on the spelling test shortly to come. Lilly speaks the words along with the remainder of the children.
>
> For those children who believe that they knew the words, Mrs. Benson gives instructions on a new reading assignment that they can begin if they wish. As she reads the instructions, Lilly reads along silently moving her lips. Mrs. Benson asks for an example of each of the three parts of the new assignment. Lilly does not raise her hand for either number two or for number three. On part four, she again does not raise her hand. Mrs. Benson then gives the class a further assignment on the top of the following page. In this section are four sentences in which the children are to select the best word for the blank. On the first three questions, Lilly does not raise her hand as Mrs. Benson asks the class for the answer. On the fourth sentence, she does raise her hand, but was not called upon by the teacher. Intermittently she chews on the end of her eraser.
>
> As the final set of additional exercises that the children can do if they wish, Mrs. Benson begins to discuss the four pictures at the bottom of the page. The lesson is to

> indicate whether the picture next to each of the four numbers is to be described in the singular or in the plural. Picture one was of one rat, two of two beds, three of one apple, and four of two hats. Mrs. Benson asks the class what is the name of the animal in the first picture. Lilly becomes quite excited and raises her hand very high. She is standing part way out of her seat. Mrs. Benson sees Lilly and asks her for an answer. Lilly smiles and says, "That a rat." Mrs. Benson responds, "Yes, it is. Now who can tell me about picture two?"
>
> Lilly looks at her spelling words for a short while and then takes a piece of paper to begin the new assignment discussed by Mrs. Benson. She works intently and only looks up when there are interruptions or disrutpions in the class. (One girl comes into the room to borrow a stapler and on another occasion Mrs. Benson hits Lou with her four-foot stick and says to him, "Boy, you shut up while I am reading.")
>
> Mrs. Benson begins a short reading lesson with the Clowns. Lilly continues her own work until her brother Nick is called upon by Mrs. Benson to read. She stops her work and watches her brother. Nick does not know the word "farm" and Mrs. Benson asks Rema to help Nick with the word. When Rema pronounces the word, Nick repeats it to the teacher and Lilly also says it very softly to herself. Mrs. Benson asks the entire Clown group to say the word "farm" and as they do, Lilly repeats the word also. She goes back to her work and places the book upright on her desk so she is hidden from view. The book remains in this position for the next five minutes until Mrs. Benson tells all the students in the class to put away their books and pencils.

It is believed evident from the above that Lilly yet employed mechanisms of secondary learning in the second grade classroom. There was evident on several occasions the silent moving of lips, softly repeating of words spoken by the teacher or another student, and listening as others in the class read. However, it did not appear to be the sole manner in which she sought to gain knowledge in the class. There were the periods of individual reading, as well as one instance of direct interaction with the teacher. The single instance of direct interaction with the teacher. The single instance of direct interaction arose when Lilly was able to respond to a question from her previous experience with rats. (On several visits to her home, I had observed them in rooms on the first floor.) The desire of the child to indicate that she knew the correct answer was obvious. She stood half-way out of her chair waving her hand, hoping to be called upon. When the question was within her sphere of previous experience, she was more than eager to participate.

VIII. FURTHER NOTES ON THE SECOND GRADE: REWARD AND PUNISHMENT

Throughout the length of the study in Attucks School, it was exceedlingly clear that both the kindergarten and second grade teachers were teaching the groups within the classes in a dissimilar manner. That is, differential behavior on the part of the teacher was directed towards those children in the various reading groups. Variations were evident, for example, in the amount of time the teacher spent teaching the different groups, in the manner in which certain groups were granted privileges which were denied to others, and her continued proximity to the different groups. Two additional considerations of the differential treatment of the reading groups was in the teacher's use of reward and punishment. Though these variations are evident from the observations in the kindergarten, a systematic evaluation was not attempted of the degree to which such differential behavior was a significant aspect of the classroom interactional patterns. When the observations were being conducted in the second grade, it appeared that there was on the part of Mrs. Benson a differentiation of reward and punishment. Though these variations are evident from the observations in the kindergarten, a systematic evaluation was not attempted of the degree to which such differential behavior was a significant aspect of the classroom interactional patterns. When the observations were being conducted in the second grade, it appeared that there was on the part of Mrs. Benson a differentiation of reward and punishment similar to that displayed by Mrs. Caplow. In order to examine more closely the degree to which these variations were present over time, three observational periods were totally devoted to the tabulation of each of the individual behavioral units directed by the teacher towards the children. Each observational period was three and one-half hours in length, lasting from 8:30 a.m. to 12:00 noon. The dates of the observations were the Fridays at the end of eight, twelve, and sixteen weeks of school--October 24, November 21, and December 19, respectively.

As a mechanism of evaluating the varieties of teacher behavior, a nine-fold scheme of alternative ways in which the teacher may direct behavior at the students was developed. Behavior on the part of the teacher was tabulated as a "behavioral unit" when there was clearly directed towards an individual child some manner of communication, whether it be verbal, non-verbal or physical contact. When, within the interaction of the teacher and the student, there occurred more than one type of behavior, i.e., the teacher both spoke to the child and also touched him, a count was made of both variations. The following is a list of the nine variations in teacher behavior that were tabulated within the second grade classroom. Several examples are also included with each of the alternatives displyed by the teacher within the class.

1) Verbal Supportive--"That's a very good job." "You are such a lovely girl." "My, but your work is so neat."

2) Verbal Neutral--"Laura and Tom, let's open our books to page 34." "Mary, your pencil is on the floor." "Hal, do you have milk money today?"

3) Verbal Control--"Lou, sit down in that chair and shut up." "Curt, get up off that floor." "Mary and Laura, quit your talking."

4) Non-verbal Supportive--Teacher nods her head at Rose. Teacher smiles at Liza. Teacher claps when Laura completes her problem at the board.

5) Non-verbal Neutral--Teacher indicates with arms that she wants Lilly and Shirley to move farther apart in the circle. Teacher motions to Joe and Tom that they should try to snap their fingers to stay in beat with the music.

6) Non-verbal Control--Teacher frowns at Lena. Teacher shakes finger at Amy to quit tapping her pencil. Teacher motions with hand for Rose not to come to her desk.

7) Physical Contact for Support--Teacher hugs Laura. Teacher places her arm around Mary as she talks to her. Teacher holds Trish's hand when she has a splinter in it.

8) Physical Contact is Neutral--Teacher touches head of Nick as she walks past. Teacher touches head of each student whom she wishes to go to the blackboard. Teacher leads Rema to new place on the circle.

9) Physical Contact for Control--Teacher strikes Lou with stick. Teacher pushes Curt down in his chair. Teacher pushes Hal and Doug to floor to make them sit.

Table 8.3 which follows is presented with all forms of control, supportive and neutral behavior grouped together within each of the three observational periods. As a methodological precaution, since the categorization of the various types of behavior was decided as the interaction occurred and there were no cross-validation checks by another observer, all behavior was placed in the neutral category which could not be clearly distinguished as belonging to one of the established nine categories. This may in part be an explanation for the large percentage of neutral behavior tabulated in each of the three observational periods.

The picture of the second grade teacher, Mrs. Benson, that emerges from analysis of these data is of one who distributes rewards quite sparingly and also equally, but who utilizes somewhere between two and five times as much control-oriented behavior with the Clowns as with the Tigers. Alternatively, whereas with the Tigers the combination of neutral and supportive behavior never dropped below 93 percent of the total behavior directed towards them by the teacher, the lowest figure for the Cardinals was 86 percent and for the Clowns was 73 percent. It may be assumed that the presence of neutral and supportive behavior would be conducive to learning while the presence of punishment or control-oriented behavior would not. Thus for the Tigers, the learning situation was one with only infrequent units of control, while for the Clowns, control behavior constituted one-fourth of all behavior directed towards them on at least one occasion.

Research related to leadership structure and task performance in voluntary organizations has given strong indication that within an authoritarian setting there occurs a significant decrease in both learning retention and performance on assigned tasks that does not occur with those in a non-authoritative setting (Kelly and Thibaut, 1954; Lewin Leppitt, and White, 1939). Further investigations have generally confirmed these findings.

TABLE 8.3

VARIATIONS IN TEACHER-DIRECTED BEHAVIOR FOR THREE SECOND GRADE READING GROUPS DURING THREE OBSERVATIONAL PERIODS WITHIN A SINGLE CLASSROOM

Item	Variations in Teacher-Directed Behavior		
	Control	Supportive	Neutral
Observational Period #1*			
Tigers..................	5%--(6)**	7%--(8)	87%--(95)
Cardinals..............	10%--(7)	8%--(5)	82%--(58)
Clowns.................	27%--(27)	6%--(6)	67%--(69)
Observational Period #2			
Tigers..................	7%--(14)	8%--(16)	85%--(170)
Cardinals..............	7%--(13)	8%--(16)	85%--(157)
Clowns.................	14%--(44)	6%--(15)	80%--(180)
Observational Period #3			
Tigers.................	7%--(15)	6%--(13)	86%--(171)
Cardinals.............	14%--(20)	10%--(14)	75%--(108)
Clowns................	15%--(36)	7%--(16)	78%--(188)

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*Forty-eight (48) minutes of unequal teacher access (due to one group of children being out of the room) was eliminated from the analysis.

**Value within the parentheses indicates total number of units of behavior within that category.

Of particular interest within the classroom are the findings of Adams (1945), Anderson (1946), Anderson et al. (1946), Preston and Heintz (1949), and Robbins (1952). Their findings may be generalized to state that children without an authoriatarian classroom display a decrease in both learning retention and performance while those within the democratic classroom do not. In extrapolating these findings to the second grade classroom of Mrs. Benson, one cannot say that she was continually "authoritarian" as opposed to "democratic" with her students, but that with one group of students there occurred a preponderance of control-oriented behavior. The group which was the recipient of this control-oriented behavior was that group which she had defined as "slow and disinterested." On at least one occasion Mrs. Benson utilized nearly five times the amount of control-oriented behavior with the Clowns as with her perceived high-interest and high-ability group, the Tigers. For the Clowns who were most isolated from the teacher and received the least amount of her teaching time, the results noted above would indicate that the substantial control-oriented behavior directed towards them would compound their difficulty in experiencing significant learning and cognitive growth.

Here discussion of the self-fulfilling prophecy is relevant: given the extent to which the teacher utilized control-oriented behavior with the Clowns, data from the leadership and performance studies would indicate that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for that group to experience a positive learning situation. The question remains unanswered, though, as to whether the behavior of uninterested students necessitated the teacher's resorting to extensive use of control-oriented behavior, or whether that to the extent to which the teacher utilized control-oriented behavior, the students responded with uninterest. If the prior experience of the Clowns was in any way similar to that of the students in kindergarten at Table 3 and Table C in the first grade, I am inclined to opt for the latter proposition.

A very serious and, I believe, justifiable consequence of this assumption of student uninterest related to the frequency of the teacher's control-oriented behavior is that the teachers themselves contribute significantly to the creation of the "slow learners" within their classrooms. That, over time, an increasing number of students are brought into the teacher's sphere of high control-oriented behavior, may help to account for a phenomenon noted in the Coleman Report (1966). This report indicated that there existed an increasing gap between the academic performance of the urban Black student and the national norms the longer the Black student remained in the school system. During one of the three and one-half observational periods in the second grade, the percentage of control-oriented behavior oriented toward the entire class was about 8 percent. Of all behavior directed toward the Clowns, however, 26 percent was control-oriented behavior directed to the class as a whole. Deutsch (1968), in a random sampling of New York City Public School classrooms of the fifth through eighth grades noted that the teacher utilized between 50 and 80 percent of class time in discipline and organization. Unfortunately, he fails to specify the two individual percentages and thus it is unknown whether the classrooms were dominated by either discipline or organization as opposed to their combination. If it is the case, and Deutsch's findings appear to lend indirect support, that the higher the grade level, the greater the discipline and control-oriented behavior by the teacher, many of the unexplained aspects of the "regress phenomenon" of Black students in urban schools may be unlocked.

On another level of analysis, the teacher's use of control-oriented behavior is directly related to the expectations of the ability and willingness of "slow learners" to learn the material she teaches. That is, if the student is uninterested in what goes on in the classroom, he is more apt to engage in activities that the teacher perceives as disruptive. Activities such as talking out loud, coloring when the teacher has not said it to be permissible, attempting to leave the room, calling other students' attention to activities occurring on the street, making comments to the teacher not pertinent to the lesson, dropping books, falling out of the chair, and commenting on how the student cannot wait for recess, all prompt the teacher to employ control-oriented behavior toward that student. The interactional pattern between the uninterested student and the teacher literally becomes a "vicious circle" in which control-oriented behavior is followed by further manifestations of uninterest, followed by further control behavior and so on. The stronger the reciprocity of this pattern of interaction, the greater one may anticipate the strengthening of the teacher's expectation of the "slow learner" as being either unable or unwilling to learn.

IX. THE CASTE SYSTEM FALTERS

A major objective of this study has been to document the manner in which there emerges within the early grades at Attucks School a stratification system, based both on teacher expectations related to behavioral and attitudinal characteristics of the child and also a variety of socio-economic factors, related to the background of the child. As noted, when the child begins to move through the grades, the variable of past performance becomes a crucial index of the position of the child within the class. The formulation of the system of stratification of the children into various reading groups appears to gain a caste-like character over time in that there was no observed movement into the highest reading group once it had been initially established at the beginning of the school year. Likewise, there had not been observed any movement out of the highest reading group. There was described the movement between the second and third reading group, primarily that of those at the lowest reading table one year are combined with the middle group for the following year, due to the presence of a group of students repeating the grade.

Though formal visits with the second grade class of Mrs. Benson ended with the Christmas vacation, periodic informal visits to the class have continued through the remainder of the school year. The organization of the class has remained stable throughout the winter months save for one notable exception. For the first time during observations in either the kindergarten or the second grade, there had been a reassignment of two students from the highest reading group to the middle reading group. Virginia and Joe were moved by Mrs. Benson during the third week in January from the Tiger reading group to the

Cardinal group. Lena and Dan were moved from the Cardinal group to the Tiger group to replace those two who moved out. I asked Mrs. Benson the reason for the move and she explained that neither Virginia nor Joe "could keep a clean desk." Likewise, she noted that these two students constantly had paper and crayons on the floor beside their desks. She stated that the Tigers "are a very clean group" and that the two could not remain because they were not neat. Lena and Dan were described as "extremely neat with their desk and floor." When moved to the Cardinal group, Virginia and Joe were placed in the back seats of Rows Two and Three, respectively.

CHAPTER IX

BLACK CHILDREN IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL

I. INTRODUCTION

The writings of a number of progressive educators have stated that the experience of learning, which is the main goal of the school system, must be related to and also be an integral part of the prior experiences and understanding of the children involved. Likewise the educational experience for the child must be built on a foundation of genuine respect for the rights of the child as an individual. Those entrusted with guiding the children as they seek to learn of themselves and their world must be willing to build the organization of the school experience around the methods and techniques that foster learning, not bureaucratic routinization. The particular method that one seeks to utilize in the teaching of children, whether it be the traditional approach of rote learning or more recent attempts at "non-directive" learning and "Discovery Centers," would appear to be less crucial to the experience of successful learning than the orientation of the teacher to the children. Respect for the child and his potential to learn, both through teaching and also through his personal explorations, must be accompanied with strong expectations that in fact the child does and will learn continually. As noted in Chapter V, the expectations of the teacher as to potential and performance for any individual child appear to be of profound significance for the resultant school experiences of that child.

In addition to the educational experience of the child, the organization of the class may be interpreted as having consequences beyond the boundaries of the school itself. Based on the assumption that formal education within American society presents the major if not sole path for the achievement of desired occupational roles, the class organization appeared to perpetuate the existing stratification patterns of the larger society. That is, the manner in which the children were organized within the class may have served the function of ensuring that they remained on a similar if not identical occupational status level as their parents. The expectations of the teachers, based in part on stereotypic evaluations of how those children with certain socio-economic backgrounds, attitudes, and behavioral patterns would perform on academic tasks resulted in a social organization where the children appeared to clearly understand the differentiations and the significance of those differences. Those in the highest reading groups, displaying valued behavior and attitudes of the middle socio-economic strata, appeared to well understand their position vis-a-vis those of the lower socio-economic levels who as the poorest reading group in the second grade were termed "Clowns."

II. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter III sought to provide a backdrop from which to analyze the activities of an individual classroom with the city public school system. St. Louis as a city is almost completely racially segregated, and the schools reflect this division quite clearly. Likewise, the response of those with authority in the school system to both the presence of a "new majority" of black students within the schools and their nearly absolute segregation from the white children of the city has been less than direct and forceful in approaching the problems. The concepts and methodologies of teaching utilized at Harris Teachers College, the city college that provides a large number of new teachers each year to the city system, appear oriented towards the teacher approaching her role within the class as one who is in the position of having to enforce control over the students or face certain chaos. The consequences for the teaching situation within the classroom appear to be that the teachers, lacking any clear pedagogical training by which to guide their approach to the dynamics of the teaching-learning situation, resort to techniques of management and control in order to ensure a smooth and efficient classroom, often at the loss of their stated objective--that is, aiding children to learn.

Chapter IV dealt with Attucks School as the milieu that directly affects the child through the orientation of the staff and administration as to how children and classrooms are to be managed, how children are to be viewed vis-a-vis adults, what essential attitudes and behavioral patterns are believed necessary for learning to occur, and the fashion in which the school and the home communicate on the activity of the child within the class. The teachers appeared to accept as one of the major socialization goals of the schools the transmission of values and norms, as well as behavioral patterns that appear to some educators to be nearly the opposite of what would produce a creative and exciting learning experience for children. Docility, passivity, quietness, lack of spontanaity, conformity, and unquestioning acceptance of what is said by the teacher were held as desirable traits that the children should seek to internalize. When the progress reports were sent home, the parents were encouraged to aid this process in order to ensure that the teacher could operate a smoother and more efficient classroom. Such behavior as talking and playing was not tolerated, for the emphasis was upon the socialization of the children into a single group where individualized autonomy and behavioral patterns were not accepted.

The school appeared to be oriented towards an acceptance of the status quo so far as it related to the children and the community. Any movement towards innovation within the school appeared to be directed towards the development of new techniques to instill "motivation" in the children and their parents. The results of such programs were to be evident in increased academic performance. It was within this context that Mr. Miller (the principal) spoke of the programs to increase the motivation of the children "rubbing off" on the parents. The majority of both parents and children were perceived as unmotivated and disinterested in school and benefits of education. The home is ultimately defined as the source of the unmotivated student and it then is the duty of the school to increase the motivational aspiration of the home if the child is to succeed in the school. The reverse contention that the school is unmotivated to accommodate itself to the needs of the students is not considered. It has been a goal of this study to present evidence that this contention deserves serious examination. As Clark (1969) has noted:

> Educational officials and teachers have been persuaded--and particularly have persuaded themselves--that the causes of the educational retardation of Negro children are not to be found in the quality of teaching or of school supervision.

> They have explained this chronic problem in terms of the children's alleged personal deficiencies--hostility and aggressivness toward authority, low attention span, lack of educational experiences prior to entering school, and low motivation for academic work. The parents are to blame, so the teachers say, because they have "no-books-in-the-home," because they lack interest in their children's school achievement. Some educators seriously offered as an explanation of student retardation the fact that that these parents "do not attend PTA meetings." They assert that the community is to blame because it suffers all the pathologies of ghettoes--it has dirty streets, overcrowded and deteriorated homes, and provides no model of academic excellence and reward for children.

It appeared that principals and teachers alike defined their role as one to "pull up from the depths" those who were worthy and to maintain a safety-screen around those of middle class origins in order that they were not "lost" to unhealthy influences of the street and "street children." The techniques of the school for the large scale management of children and the treatment of parents appeared to arise from a response to the present socio-economic structure of the society whereby the values and expectations of those of higher status and class become the dominant ethos in interaction with those of lower status and class. The implications of these assumptions as to how certain categories of persons should be treated within the classroom appears to directly contradict the approach and values necessary for education to serve as a prime mechanism of social and economic mobility.

Chapters V, VI, VII, and VIII have sought to demonstrate the impact of teacher expectations, initially based on a series of subjectively interpreted social criteria, for both the anticipated academic potential and subsequent differential treatment accorded to those students perceived as having dissimilar social status. For Mrs. Caplow, the kindergaten teacher, expectations as to what type of child may be anticipated as a "fast learner" appeared to be grounded in her reference group of a mixed white-black educated middle class. That is, students within her classroom who displayed those attributes perceived as highly desired and necessary in children for future success were selected by her as possessing the potential to be a fast learner. On the other hand, those children who did not possess the desired qualities were defined by the teacher as "slow learners." None of the criteria upon which the kindergarten teacher appeared to base her initial evaluation of the children were directly related to measurable aspects of academic potential. Since the I.Q. test was administered to the children at the very end of their kindergarten year, it could have been of no benefit to the teacher as she established patterns of organization within the class. The I.Q. scores may have been significant factors for the first and second grade teacher, but I assume that consideration of past performance was the major determinant for seating arrangement. (For theoretical discussions on the relationship between social class position and differential value systems, cf., A. Davis (1951; M. Erickson, 1947; E. F. Frazier, 1957;H. Hyman, 1966; A. Kornhauser, 1939; R. Merton, 1957; and A. Wilson, 1959).

For the first grade teacher, Mrs. Logan, and the second grade teacher, Mrs. Benson, the process of dividing the class into various reading groups, done on the basis of some differential in academic potential and also accomplishment in past performance, maintained the original patterns of differential treatment and expectations established in the kindergarten class. To those who were initially defined as "fast," the establishment of the reading groups in subsequent years continued to insure their presence in that same group, regardless of the label given to it.

It was evident throughout the length of the study that the teachers made clear the distinctions they perceived between the children who were defined as fast learners and those defined as slow learners. It would not appear incorrect to state that within the classroom, there was established by the various teachers a clear system of segregation between the two established groups of children. In the one group were all the children who appeared clean, interested, sought interaction with adults, displayed leadership within the class, and came from homes which displayed various status criteria valued in the middle class. In the other were children who were dirty, smelled of urine, did not actively participate in class, did not display leadership behavior, and came from poor homes often supported by public welfare.

I would contend that within the system of segregation established by the teachers, the group perceived as slow learners were ascribed a caste position that sought to keep them apart from the other students. They appeared to be placed in a pariah caste perceived by the teacher as "unclean" that had to be kept separate from the group defined as fast learners. De Vos (1966) notes, based on broad cross-cultural evidence, that in addition to the segregation of lower class persons to utilize them for economic exploitation, there is also a second form of segregation of the poor that he terms "expressive segregation."

> Expressive segregation, although universal in one form or another, is most visibly institutionalized in societies that are rigidly segregated by birth into occupational groupings.

> Inherent is a biological and/or a religious concept of unalterable inferiority which distinguishes one group of men from another. . .Within a society, it justifies maintaining a fixed social order of dominance and subordination from birth to death. . . The relative presence of institutionalized forms of expressive exploitation in social hierarchy is what distinguishes caste from class. . .It is the persistence of socially debase groups in spite of a change in the political and economic structure of a society that brings out the essential difference between a class and caste structure. The irrational-expressive exploitation involved in caste differs radically from the utilitarian usage of subordinate individuals in a class structure or in slavery as an institution.

The placement of the children within the various classrooms into different reading groups was ostensibly done on the promise of future performance in the kindergarten and in later grades on differentials of past performance; however, the placement may rather have been done from purely irrational reasons that had nothing in common with academic performance. The utilization of academic criteria may have served as the rationalization for a more fundamental process occurring within the class whereby the teacher served as the agent of the larger society to ensure that proper "distance" was maintained between the various strata of the society as represented by the children.

Within the context of this analysis there appear to be at least two interactional processes that may be identified as having occurred simultaneously within the kindergarten classroom. The first was the relation of the teacher to the student placed at Table 1. The process appeared to occur in at least four stages. The initial stage involved the kindergarten teacher developing expectations regarding certain students as possessing a series of characteristics that she considered essential for future academic "success." Second, the teacher reinforced through her mechanisms of "positive" differential behavior those characteristics of the children she considered important and desirable.

Third, the child responded with more of the behavior that initially gained him the attention and support of the teacher. Perceiving that verbalization, for example, was a quality that the teacher appeared to admire, the Table 1 child increased his level of verbalization. Fourth, the cycle was complete as the teacher focused even more specifically on the children at Table 1 who continued to manifest the behavior she desires. A positive interactional scheme arose whereby initial behavioral patterns of the student were reinforced into apparent permanent behavioral patterns, once he had received support and differential treatment from the teacher.

Within this framework, the actual academic potential of the student was not objectively measured prior to the kindergarten teacher's evaluation of expected performance. The student within this group may be assumed to have had mixed potential with some inherently able to perform at a higher level than others; however, the common positive treatment accorded to all within the group by the teacher may have served as the necessary catalyst for the self-fulfilling prophecy whereby those expected to do well did so.

A concurrent behavioral process appeared to occur between the teacher and those students placed at Tables 2 and 3. The student came into the class possessing a series of behavioral and attitudinal characteristics that within the frame of reference of the teacher were perceived as indicative of "failure." Second, through mechanisms of reinforcement of her initial expectations as to the future performance of the student, it was made evident that he was not perceived as similar nor equal to those at the table of fast learners. In the third stages, the child responded accordingly to both the definition and actual treatment given to him by the teacher which emphasized his characteristics of being an educational "failure." Given the high degree of control-oriented behavior toward the "slower" learner, the lack of verbal interaction and encouragement, the disproportionately small amount of teaching time given to him, and the ridicule and hostility, the child withdrew from classroom participation. The fourth stage was the cyclical repetition of behavioral and attitudinal characteristics that led to the initial labeling as an educational failure.

As with those perceived as having high probability of future success, the academic potential of the failure group was not objectively determined prior to evaluation by the kindergarten teacher. This group also may be assumed to have come into the class with mixed potential. Some within the group may have had the capacity to perform academic tasks quite well, while others perhaps could not. Yet the reinforcement by the teacher of the characteristics in the children that she had perceived as leading to academic failure may, in fact, have created the very condition of student failure. With the "negative" differential treatment accorded to the perceived failure group, the teacher's definition of the situation may have ensured its emergence. The stigmata which the teacher perceived in the children may have served as the catalyst for a series of interactions, with the result that the child came to act out within the class the very expectations defined of him by the teacher.

As an alternative explanation , however, the teacher may have developed the system of caste segregation within the classroom, not because the groups of children were so dissimilar they had to be handled in an entirely different manner, but they were segregated because they were, in fact, so very close to one another. That is, the teacher may have believed quite strongly that the ghetto community inhibited the development of success models within the middle class frame of reference. Thus, it was her duty to "save" at least one group of children from the "streets." Those "unclean" children had to be kept separate who could have had a "bad" influence on the children who appeared to have a chance to "make it" in the middle class of the larger society. To insure that a few "bad apples" did not spoil the entire class, she kept the bad apples separate. Within this framework, the teacher's actions may be understood not only as an attempt to keep the slow "unclean" learners away from those fast "clean" learners, but to ensure that the fast learners would not be so influenced that they themselves became enticed with "the streets" and lose their apparent opportunity for future middle class status.

In addition to the formal separation of the groups within the classroom, there was also the persistence of mechanisms utilized by the teacher to socialize the children in the high reading group with feelings of aversion, revulsion, and rejection towards those of the lower reading groups. Through ridicule, belittlement, physical punishment, and merely ingoring them, the teacher was continually giving clues to those in the high reading groups. Through ridicule, belittlement, physical punishment, and merely ignoring them, the teacher was continually giving clues to those in the high reading group as to how one with high status and a high probability of future success treats those of low status and low probability of future success. To maintain within the larger society the caste aspects of the position of the poor to the remainder of the society, there has to occur the transmission from one generation to another the attitudinal characteristics that could create difficulties within the school, but rather that these difficulties are utilized as a rationalization for the systematic exclusion of this group from a large share of participation in the classroom.

Given the extreme intercomplexity of the organizational structure of this society, the institutions that both create and sustain social organization can neither be held singly responsible for perpetuating the inequalities nor for eradicating them. The school system, I believe, is justifiably responsible for contributing to the present structure of the society, but the responsibility is not its alone. Nevertheless, one cannot at the same time deny the crucial importance of the school system as an instrument of social change and innovation. The picture that emerges from the study of Attucks School is that the school strongly shares in the complicity of maintaining the organizational perpetuation of poverty and unequal opportunity. This, of course, is in contrast to the formal doctrine of education in this country to ameliorate rather than aggravate the conditions of the poor.

From the data presented within this study, it is evident that the teacher in the individual classroom acted out a paradoxical role. On the one hand, she continued the patterns of differential behavior towards the various groups within her class, thus apparently contributing to the maintenance of the present structure of the society. Yet, on the other hand, her role was defined as one who is to teach and aid children in learning of themselves and the world. The strong orientation towards control and management, however, appeared to strongly negate the desires of the teacher to effectively teach her children. Thus she found herself in the position of utilizing a pattern of social interaction and social organization within the class that precluded the possibility of education itself. Given the position of the teacher within the formal bureaucracy of both the individual school and the entire school system of the city, it does not follow that though the teachers engage in anti-educational activities, they could do otherwise as individuals if they wished to do so. As Leacock notes (1969):

> Teachers cannot simply interact with the children in their classrooms, according to their desires and personal style. Instead, their behavior often takes on characteristics beyond their immediate aims or intents. They must adapt their style, not only to the children, but to the institution, to the principals, requirements, to the other teachers' attitudes and to the standards according to which they will be evaluated. . .There is little allowance in teacher schedules for the reading, discussion, and intellectual development as essential for effective performance at lower levels of schooling as at the university level. Furthermore, the teachers' constant paper work intrudes on their teaching time; the requirements of control in the classroom is often beyond what is desirable for a good learning situation, and conformism to the institution, rather than creative teaching, is the key to success.

It may also be noted that though a teacher may be friendly to the students and give occasional rewards to members of the class, this does not prevent her from being basically non-supportive of the children in the lower reading groups. The second grade teacher, for example, gave nearly an equal amount of verbal reward to the Clowns as to the Tigers. Yet the pervasiveness of the control-oriented behavior by the teacher towards those of the Clown group would appear to have undermined any possibility of an effective learning situation for those children. The children in the lower reading groups were participating in a process whereby the teacher was contributing to the formation of their lower class roles which they will in all probability assume in later years. Likewise, they were subject to the teacher's socialization patterns in the room whereby those of higher status were learning how to respond to those of lower status. Those of lower status were also learning mechanisms of how to cope among themselves as a stigmatized group receiving ridicule and belittlement from the teacher and some peers. The adaptive strategy of the students also carried over into their very process of learning whereby they gained much of what they apparently learned in the class through a process of "secondary learning" as opposed to direct interaction with the teacher.

The seemingly inevitability of the formulation of differential roles within the class appeared to arise in part from the teacher viewing such differentiation as a "natural" phenomena of the human species. As Mrs. Caplow said, "It just appears that some can do it and some cannot." Yet the very process of the children in the lower reading groups attempting to gain knowledge and to coherently structure their social world attests to the fact that the teachers' rationalization that the children were without motivation when they came to the school cannot be substantiated. The processes utilized by the lower reading groups within the classroom, given the differential teaching time, control-oriented behavior, and amount of ridicule and belittlement they received, were functional within their context. The mechanisms of secondary learning, including not initiating interaction with the teacher, not answering questions, and discussion of material among themselves, were all, from the position of John Dewey, aspects of a valid learning situation. That is, the process of secondary learning was most congruent for that particular group of children with the experiences of learning in their homes.

These very strategies of adaptation to the classroom situation, however, were perceived as dysfunctional by the teacher. The failure to communicate in direct interactional patterns, the failure to initiate interaction, the talking among the group, and the high number of "no response" answers from the group, all indicated to the teacher that the children in the slower reading groups were "not yet ready" to handle the material being taught to the fast reading group. Thus, the mechanism for the creation of the self-fulfilling prophecy gained further support.

The teacher's reliance on the presence of a mixed black-white educated class for their normative reference group appeared to contain assumptions of superiority over those of lower status and class position. For her and those members of her reference group, comfortable affluence education, community participation, and possession of professional status may have afforded a rather stable view of the social order. The treatment of those from lower socio-economic backgrounds within the classrooms may also have contained the element of belief by the teachers that the values highly esteemed by them were not open to members of the lower reading groups. Thus the lower groups were in numerous ways informed of their lower status and were seemingly socialized for a role of lessened self expectations and also for respect and deference towards those of higher status. The social distance between the groups within the class was manifested in its extreme form by the maintenance of patterns of caste segregation whereby those of lower position were not allowed to become a part of the peer group at the highest level. The value system of the teachers and of the school in general created a value assumption that forced a certain group to be ostracized due to "unworthiness" or inherent stigmata. The very beliefs which necessitated exclusion were maintained among those of the higher social group which then ensured the continuation of the pattern of social organization itself.

It has not been a contention of this study that the teachers observed in Attucks School could not or would not teach their students. They did, at least those observed, teach quite well. But the high quality teaching was not made equally accessible to all students in the class. For the students of high socio-economic background who were perceived by the teachers as possessing desirable behavioral and attitudinal characteristics, the classroom experience was one where the teachers displayed interest in them, spent a large proportion of teaching time with them, directed little control-oriented behavior towards them, held them as models the rest of the class was to emulate, and continually reinforced her statements that they were "special" students. Hypothetically if the classrooms observed in Attucks School had contained only those students perceived by the teachers as having a desirable social status and a high possibility of future success outside the confines of the ghetto community, the teachers probably would have continued to teach well, and in these circumstances, to the entire class.

The above statements do not preclude, however, the fact that there are many wise and dedicated teachers who have deeply internalized the expectations that all children are capable of creativity and learning and that they communicate their expectations to those students with whom they are in contact, whether they be very poor or not. As Leacock (1969) notes:

> For every Jonathan Kozol or Herbert Kohl who have written of their experiences in ghetto schools, there must be hundreds of anonymous teachers who have found ways to reach poor children. More common, however, is the person who starts his teaching career with the assumption that all children can learn as something of a question or a wish, and who is disillusioned when his attempts to teach in a poor neighborhood are beset with so many difficulties. Not fully comprehending the web in which he is caught, he does not turn the responsibility back on himself or (at least in any open way) on the school system. It is easier to place the responsibility where he is told at every turn it lies--with the children. In a middle-income neighborhood he would be held responsible by parents and principal for a large percentage of failures; in a low-income classroom he generally would not be held responsible.

Thus, the system of public education perpetuates in reality what it is ideologically committed to eradicate--class bias which results in inequality in the social and economic life of the citizenry.

III. CONSIDERATIONS FOR INNOVATION: POLICY AND PROGRAMS

The date from this study would suggest that a variety of innovations, some which have been discussed elsewhere and others that have not, are needed in the urban public school system. Three areas in need of innovation apparent in this study and also noted previously are as follows. First, the necessity of developing new methods of increasing proficiency in the concepts and content of the material presented to the children appears crucial to any significant change in the manner in which they seek intellectual exploration within the classroom (cf. Anderson, 1967; Beane, 1966; Olson and Larson, 1965; Trout, 1967). The manner in which material is presented in fragmentary form for only short time periods appears to prevent the children from having the opportunity for intensive and in-depth probing.

Second, there appears a necessity for the development of new ways by which the children can be brought into a more active role in the learning situation (cf. Ausubel, 1963; Clark, 1963; Daugherty, 1965; Pressman, 1967; Ross, 1965; Webster, 1966). The school experience appears to devote the majority of time to passively listening to the teacher without personally becoming a participant in the learning situation.

Third, there is the immediate necessity of developing new methods of teacher training which equips the teacher both with techniques of classroom management without extreme reliance on discipline and also with techniques of curriculum presentation that account for the realities of the life that the children experience outside the boundaries of the classroom walls (cf. Amidon and Hunter, 1967; Carew and Fleming, 1967; Lotan and Umans, 1966; Stephens, 1967). It appears that many teachers are unaware of mechanisms whereby they may foster the development of informal controls within the classrooms. Such controls would establish an internal order and logic based on the values and assumptions of the children themselves. If the children enjoy and desire to continue learning, one may expect that they will form the necessary social organization to enable it to continue without threat of internal disruption. Likewise, the heavy reliance on curriculum material that is strongly oriented towards middle class values and norms fails to consider the life experiences of many children in the class who have not shared in much of what the teachers deem important.

Considerations such as those listed above are usually considered "strictly educational." The present study has attempted to point out, however, that they are actually highly interdependent with the social organization of the institution of public education as it reflects and mirrors the larger society. That is, in examining the classroom experience of children in Attucks School, any analysis that ends at the classroom door fails to acknowledge the manner in which the activities of that classroom are intricately interwoven with the fabric of the entire society. For example, it appears that the inappropriate and inadequate teaching that is present in the school is a result of at least two institutional orientations: the training of the teachers at the city teachers college and the formalized structure of the individual school. From a nationwide viewpoint, it is interesting to note that one of the major concerns of community organizations, parents, and teachers, in changing the public school system has been the restructuring of the system. Restructuring of the system has been sought in at least three areas. First, there is the demand for equalization of facilities, standards of performance, and financial expenditures, thus eliminating the "dual track" system of "good schools" and "bad schools." Second, reorganization demands have included the establishment of formal and relevant roles for parents and community leaders in the guidance of the school. This has been of prime concern in minority and low-income areas. In comparison, this has not been an issue in many suburban school districts where those of wealth and influence already have a voice in decisions related to the education of their children. In those areas, authority and influence possessed by the parents are realities. Finally, reorganization of the school system often includes providing an increase in the professionalization of the teaching staff. Such considerations as available time for course preparation, greater flexibility for curriculum development, and choice of course presentations are suggested as mechanisms of enhancing the status of the teacher.

From the data presented in the present study, the establishment of formal roles with responsibility and authority for the parents and community leaders would appear to be the single most effective way to eliminate the low expectations of the teacher for children from poor backgrounds for the following reasons. As noted, expectations are apparently based on a series of non-academic criteria which are significantly influenced by the teacher's perceptions of the parents and the home-life of the child. When parents are seen as disinterested and incompetent, the children from those families are often considered "unteachable." This problem may be confronted by parents actively engaged and interested in the welfare of their children within the school itself. Shared responsibility for the education of the child by both teacher and parents presents a context for cooperation and the establishment of consensus rather than conflict and antagonism.

Another area of the school experience of the child that is in desperate need of reform is the content of the curriculum. The pervasive presence of whites in all textbooks, library books, and posters; the lack of discussion and presentation of the history of the black men; and the failure to deal with the urban environment of the children in the class, all contribute to the irrelevancy of what the children must study. The books are oriented to the blonde Dicks and Janes in semi-rural or suburban surroundings who adhere to an image of middle class conventionality and behavior. The materials presented to the children in Attucks School fail to acknowledge the diversity of the ways in which men have sought to organize their lives. Instead the children are given both direct and indirect messages that the white middle class orientation to values and behavior constitute the most desirable and possibly the only valid manner in which to live. Given the realities of the urban public school system and the lack of funds to purchase a variety of textbooks and materials suitable to acquaint a child with his heterogeneous society, the best one may be able to hope for is that teachers not enthusiastically endorse the books they are forced to use, finding instead alternative methods of introducing the children to an understanding of social and cultural plurality. Thus, the children may be taught that their own lives need not be measured as successes or as a failure if they do not parallel that of the idealized white middle class family portrayed in the books.

Closely tied to reform in the curriculum of the public schools in urban black neighborhoods is also the need to clarify the position of Black American English within the school. As previously footnoted, the term"Black American English" is not used within the context of this study to refer to only those linguistic patterns found among low-income blacks, but also to those patterns shared by a number of other poor and rural groups in this society. As further comments are made relating to low-income blacks, it should be kept in mind that similar such modifications in the instruction of low-income whites with linguistic patterns other than that of Standard American English should also be considered. It is outside the scope of this study, however, to detail the changes necessary for the teaching of low-income whites. The major thrust of the teachers observed within this study was to negate and depreciate the use of Black Americn English within the class and emphasize the "correctness" and propriety of speaking in Standard American English. There was no recognition that the language of the children, particularly those from low-income and low status backgrounds, was in any manner acceptable within the class. The single exception, of course, was when the teacher herself utilized Black American English in situations where she sought to exercise control over the children.

Because the teachers would not allow the use of Black American English within the classroom, low-status children who could not speak Standard American English were under a substantial handicap compared with high status children. Those of poor backgrounds came to the school speaking only in Black American English. Those from middle income homes, however, came to the school as bilinguals, being able to speak both Black American English and also Standard American English within the classroom, the middle income children were able to communicate with her in an acceptable manner while those of low-income backgrounds could not. The middle income child was able to "code switch" between Black American English and Standard American English as necessary. On the playground the middle income children often spoke with their low income peers in Black American English while in the classroom they did not.

The findings of this study would indicate that as a major reform in the utilization of English within the classroom of an all black school where there are a number of poor black children, all students in their first years of school be taught in Black American English. As the children progress through the grades, Standard American English would be taught as a "second language" so that by the time the children are in approximately fifth grade, they all are able to speak adequately with Standard American English. From the fifth grade only Standard American English should be taught in order to prepare the children to compete adequately in the economic, technological and bureaucratic structures of American society. Black American English appears as a "restricted" code which has not developed to incorporate the concepts of a highly industrialized and bureaucratized society (cf. Bernstein, 1962; Lawton, 1968, for further discussion of variations in linguistic codes). Durbin (1970) has noted that Black American English has developed within a segregated and isolated community which has been denied entrance to many ofthe economic and corporate structures of the larger society. Low-income black children need to be taught Standard American English in order to utilize the "expanded" code dominant in the larger society.

This proposal is not made with any sense of depreciating the usage of Black American English, but merely in recognition of the existing code lacking many of the technological and bureaucratic concepts found in Standard American English and utilized in post-industrialized American society. It is not the case that Black American English is incapable of handling these concepts, but rather that it was bypassed due to the segregation of its users. The concepts thus emerged within the expanded code of the larger society. The code of Black American English could be expanded to include the concepts noted above, but such is unlikely due to the absence of low-income blacks in such structures. The realities of the American economic system also suggest that it would be more feasible to teach Standard American English to low-income black children in order to prepare them to adequately cope with the expanded code than have large corporate structures modify their communication patterns to incorporate Black American English.

Likewise, the proposal does not seek to imply that the linguistic code of [illegible] low-income black is a causal factor in the present conditions of poverty among this group. The plight of the poor black cannot be attributed to the reality of possessing a restricted linguistic code. The reverse appears to be nearer the truth; the restricted code arose from the realities of segregation and discrimination, not vice versa. Nevertheless, beyond the debate of causality of poverty and presence of linguistic codes is the fact that the thrust of the American occupational structure is towards increased professionalization and skilled technological expertise. This, in turn, demands use of

Standard American English. If the low-income child is to be able to adequately compete and function within what is essentially the dominant code of the middle and upper classes, the ability to deal adequately with the language is a prerequisite. Language is not a vehicle to change the stratified occupational schema in this society, nor will merely knowing Standard American English ensure adequate employment for a low-income black child in his adult years. It will, however, remove one roadblock to such employment.

If one were to begin teaching children in black urban schools in the very early years of the primary grades in only Black American English, the argument could be raised that such a scheme would penalize the middle-income black children who are capable of utilizing Standard American English. I do not believe that this would be the case, however, because the middle-income children disply ed that they also knew Black American English and could adequately communicate in that particular code. Thus, a major criteria for the differentiation of children within the classes observed would be removed because both middle-income and low-income children would be utilizing the same linguistic code and there could be no basis for stratifying the children on this variable. The use of Standard American English would be introduced within the class in stages in order that the low-income children could by the end of the elementary grades be able to speak comparably to those of middle-income backgrounds.

A second objection to this method of teaching English within the the elementary schools may be raised where low-income black children are in school with white children who do not know Black American English. It would be as incorrect to teach the white children in Black American

English as to teach the low-income black children in Standard American English, because both groups of children are essentially monolingual as they enter the school. Recognizing the restricted code of the low-income black, it would again appear necessary to teach the low-income black children Standard American English, but within a different framework from the case with the presence of middle-income black children. It appears necessary that there be some separation of the two groups of children during the teaching of substantive material. It may be possible that all the children could remain in the same room, with the development of reading groups based on linguistic usage. Alternatively, if this arrangement of attempting to teach in both Standard and Black American English within the same room is not feasible, there would appear to be little choice other than separating the two groups of children during such lessons. The separation of the two groups would not have to be complete for the entire school day for they could participate in a number of activities and certain types of lessons together, for example, library period, art lessons, physical education, recess, and lessons centered on audio-visual material. Likewise, as the skills of Standard American English are acquired by the low-income black children, the amount of class time the two groups spend together should increase.[1]

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[1] A significantly different situation arises when there is present within the classroom both low-income black and low-income white children. It is unknown to what degree they share a similar linguistic pattern. There may be enough similarity between the patterns of the two groups to warrant teaching them together. If not, some adjustments as noted with the presence of middle-income white and low-income black children together would have to be made within the classroom.

It is also acknowledged that such a proposal could become the basis for accusations within the black community (or for that matter among liberals from the white community) against the author as either a racist or as one attempting to co-opt blacks into the "degenerate" structures of white society. These contradictory accusations may be anticipated as arising from significantly different segments of the black community. On the one hand, the pro-integrationist would argue that the proposal to teach Black American English is a mechanism to continue to insure the separateness of blacks from the whites. Emphasizing the differences of the two groups could only, they may argue, perpetuate the existing gaps between the blacks and whites in American society. On the other hand, those who may be black separatists could argue that the teaching of Black American English in the early grades with the gradual introduction of Standard American English to the children is no more than a mechanism to insure the co-optation of the blacks into the white society and the necessity to deny their own "blackness." Ultimately, the question of the teaching of Black American English as well as the broader concerns of public school education for black children will have to be resolved by the black community itself. The educational efficacy of such proposals as those included within this study may prove to be less the basis for debate than the ideological grounds upon which they are instigated.

The periodic separation of the children in the classroom for substantive lessons to be taught in different ways would appear to follow similar divisions in the class structure of the larger society. The data would suggest that only by first recognizing that there are children within the same classroom who do possess significantly different linguistic patterns can there be the possibility of effectively teaching the various groups of children. The myth of the "melting pot"has within the public schools created a situation where the low-income black children are perceived as possessing linguistic patterns similar to those of other socio-economic levels, while in reality they do not. Low-income black children will continue to be taught ineffectively so long as they are forced to compete and participate in classes where the teaching patterns are geared from those children from the middle class. It should be made explicitly clear to the teachers that neither of the two linguistic codes, Standard American English or Black American English, is "better" or more "desirable" than the other. Rather, it must be noted that not all children utilize the same linguistic patterns.

The admitted recognition of class differences in linguistic patterns is not to be taken as the basis for the establishment of schools solely based on class criteria. Nothing remotely similar to the British system of education with clear divisions of class is suggested. Rather, the utilization of Black American English in the curriculum during the early grades with the teaching of Standard American English introduced as a second language is viewed as a means to aid the movement towards the blurring of increased rigid class lines in American society. Such a program of education is offered as an alternative model to the present system as a means to increase social and economic mobility rather than hinder it.

If one desires to most effectively teach children, it must be done in a way as to have the closest congruence with the cognitive and linguistic patterns which the children bring into the classroom situation. Thus, there may also be the basis for the separation of low-income white children initially from either middle income black or white children. The criteria for the establishment of a classroom should be based on the patterns of learning that the children bring to the school. The formation of the classrooms would appear to hinge on at least two variables, class and race, for both appear to influence the context within which learning occurs (cf. Deutsch et. al., 1968). Presumably, the following groups of children could be taught together utilizing a similar linguistic pattern; both low-income and middle-income black children taught initially in Black American English' both middle-income black children and middle-income white children taught initially in Standard American English. A further implication of this position is that the school system would need skilled and qualified teachers in as many different linguistic patterns as there are present among the children in the schools.

Likewise, the teacher's concentration could focus on the substantive content of what the child contributes to the class rather than constantly having to correct the child's linguistic style. Accepting that the language the children come to school speaking is the lanugage by which they explain and interpret their world, the teacher is not forced into the position of having to negate the child, but rather accepts it as that child's valid manner of expressing himself. This approach also does not negate the importance of the teacher instructing the children in Standard American English realizing it to be a prerequisite for achievement and mobility in the larger American society.

Concurrent with the suggestion of change in the pattern of linguistic communication now present in Attucks School, there also appears to be need for change in the pattern of classroom instruction, particularly for the low-income black children. Observation of both the kindergarten and second grade teachers indicated that they utilized a method of direct interaction between themselves and the students when teaching substantive material. The teacher would speak to the children, ask them questions directly, and receive responses from the children, primarily in the mode of one-to-one interaction. This pattern of interaction fit very well the experiences of the high status children who came from homes where there was a great deal of parent-child verbal interaction. The parents were accustomed to speaking to the children directly and receiving responses from the children. Likewise, the pattern of teaching involved the direct interaction of teacher and students. Statements were made, questions asked, and comments made, all within the framework of established patterns of interpersonal interaction (cf. Durbin, 1970).

For the children from low-income homes, the pattern described above was not observed within the homes. There the children were not observed in frequent interaction with adults. Their primary communication was with their peers. They continually sat on the periphery of groups of adults who interacted only among themselves. Though there was little or no direct communication between adults and children, it was apparent that the children were listening and learning from what was said among the adults, for they then would relate what had been said both to one another and to me. Here again, the low-income children employed a technique of "secondary learning" to gain knowledge of the world and their position in it. As the language patterns utilized and stressed within the school appear to be detrimental to the learning process of low-income children, so also does the pattern by which the material is taught. The low-income child would appear to have optimal congruence between his home and his school for learning when the teacher spoke in Black American English and did not speak directly to him, but rather spoke to another adult and allowed the child to simply sit and listen (cf. Durbin, 1970). Such is the pattern by which these children learn from the adults in their homes and such could be the pattern of the school, if one desires to make the learning experience in home and school similar.

The above could be employed as the sole means of instruction in that classroom where all pupils are low-income black children. When there are middle-income children present in the room, as was the case at Attucks School, modifications would have to be introduced. Perhaps the division of the class into groups could be continued, but on a different basis. The children could be taught in the room according to whether their previous learning experience had been in the mode of personalized adult-child interaction or whether it had been primarily through mechanisms of secondary learning where there is very little adult-child interaction. There need be no differentiation of one group of children as learning "better" or "faster" than the other, but rather that children simply learn in different ways. Such a situation of differential patterns of learning was observed in this study, especially during those occasions when the high reading group was being taught and those at the remaining tables listened to the teacher as she taught others. This also may be a technique that could be expanded within the class. The teacher could conduct personalized interaction learning with the one group of children, at the same time fostering learning through a secondary method in another group. As was the case with Standard American English, those children who do not use interactional patterns to learn must be taught to do so in order to function adequately in the larger society. Just as Standard American English can be taught as a second language, so also the children must be taught to grasp material presented through personalized interactional patterns, between themselves and the teacher.

It is ironic to note that as the teachers observed in this study ignored the low-income children and spent their time with the high-income students, they were almost in spite of themselves teaching the neglected group. That is, the very process of secondary learning was allowed to exist in the class, not through a direct and rational decision of the teacher, but as a consequence of her predominantly teaching the high-income and high status children. The learning situation for the low-income children within the classes may not have been nearly so conducive to their grasping of material had the teacher devoted a large segment of time to personalized and directed interaction between herself and the low-income children. In a very real sense, the low-income children at times experienced a part of an optimal learning situation. Had the teacher also spoken in Black American English they would have been able to experience a learning situation as they had known in their homes. It was also during the time that the teacher was with the high status children that the low-income children experienced little control-oriented behavior. For the teacher directed control-oriented behavior towards the low-income children primarily during those times when she sought to teach them in personalized direct interaction. Thus, utilization of Black American English, teaching to encourage the process of secondary learning, and the absence of control-oriented behavior would appear to be the optimal learning situation for the low-income black child in the early years of elementary school.

IV. PERCEPTIONS OF LOW-INCOME CHILDREN

While the above recommendations pertain primarily to the classroom situation and the pattern by which teacher and children seek to create a climate for learning, there appear to be at least three theoretical concerns that also must be dealt with by teachers and administrators. These are believed crucial if the teacher and school officials are to create the basis for both their own understanding of the situation of low-income children and also for more effective communication with this group of children. The teachers appeared to have a degree of naivete as to how low-income children function within the classroom and the reasons for their seeming inability or unwillingness to learn the material presented to them.

The first of the three theoretical constructs which appear to be in need of new scrutiny and re-interpretation by the teachers involve the notion of a "culture of poverty." There appears to be within the school a strong middle class bias by which the lower class children are stereotypically defined as possessing a number of liabilities and inabilities that inhibit successful teaching. The teachers on occasion verbalized attitudes and beliefs that very closely correspond to propositions found within the Moynihan report (1965) on the black family within the United States. Within this report, a basic proposition is that "family instability" among the blacks, characterized for example by high illegitimacy rates, is significant in the development of negative attitudes towards education, employment, and motivation to achieve. Thus there arises within the low-income black family a "tangle of pathology" that prevents the development of family stability and socio-economic mobility. Within the Moynihan report, as with much of the discussion of the teacher, the nexus of the "problem" lies in the family and not in social organizations and social structures. The fact that poor black families suffer bitter social and economic discrimination and exploitation which is deeply injurious to the individual and family as a whole is ignored. Principals and teachers within the school believe that there is a need for "motivation" for the parents and children alike in order to ensure that learning occurs within the school. Institutions such as the public school deny even their role as accomplice in the failure of children from low-income families to successfully compete in the public structures of the society, but rather such institutions define themselves as inherently valid in their present organizational and ideological formation.

Hylan Lewis, in his study of low-income blacks in Washington, D.C. (1967) was sharply critical of the tendency of many social scientists as well as laymen in placing together those attributes of individuals for which "there is no necessary relationship." He lists, for example, such variables as conditions of housing, size and formation of family, nutritional levels, educational motivation, cognitive development, language style and sexual behavior. He suggests that instead of focusing on the "pathologies" of the low-income black family, attention should center on "syndromes of poverty-related behavior" to more clearly elucidate the position and condition of low-income persons. Lewis notes that by focusing on syndromes of behavior, there is presented the possibility of establishing alternative strategies for dealing with poverty rather than being forced, due to the original theoretical construct, into the statement of a single approach. He writes:

> The amount of diversity among low-income families is frequently overlooked and underrated in popular and scientific thinking. Much of a basic strain toward conformity to standard values and practices in this segment of the population is missed or ignored because of these tendencies to underestimate hetero-heterogeneity, and changes in family life among the poor. . .It is important that we do not confuse life chances and the actual behavior of people . . .with the basic values and preferences of people in poverty.

In a similar vein, Valentine (1968) notes:

> None of these phrases /culture of poverty, lower-class culture, culture of unemployment, culture of the uninvolved, culture of violence and slum culture/ refers to an idea of seminal importance like the concept of culture itself. They all represent attempts to extend the application of that concept. Moreover, they are all misapplications of the original concept. A major thesis of this essay is that the culture of poverty notion and related ideas contradict all important positive aspects of the culture concept. . .these formulations support the long established rationalization of blaming poverty on the poor. Nothing could be further from the meaning, the spirit, or the ideological implications of the original concept of culture. . .It will be shown, however, that presently available conceptions of poverty culture stand very much in the way of solving that factual problem. These conceptions are essentially prejudgments of empirical questions.

To extrapolate the writings of Lewis and Valentine to the milieu of the classroom, it may be advocated that teachers should substitute in place of their apparent biases towards those from low-income backgrounds, an awareness that poverty necessitates the adaptation of life styles to cope with objective circumstances. Thus, the appearance, behavior, and attitudes of black children from poor homes often reflects the presence of economic deprivation and exploitation along with the ever-present realities of segregation and discrimination. The result of such factors in behavioral styles or attitudinal characteristics does not create or constitute a particular culture or value system. Poverty may instigate and initiate adaptations as a response to the reality of lack of income, but it does not create culture.

A second theoretical assumption held by the teachers and in apparent need of re-examination is what constitutes the "middle class values" which they utilize as a measure by which the children are partially, if not completely, evaluated. The teachers did not verbalize any clear notion of what precisely constituted their value system, and they most often attempted to explain it by negation. That is, they could say what was not a part of their value system and which children displayed behavioral and attitudinal characteristics that they did not consider as appropriate to "middle class standards." The content of their value system appeared to constitute those behavioral and attitudinal patterns which they believed to be desirable and inherently valuable without specifically stating what these qualities were. This reluctance or inability to clarify their value system may be in part a response to the belief that such values and norms were not to be questioned or subjected to critical scrutiny.

As Leacock (1969) indicates the culture of poverty controversy has generated a situation where the "middle class" has been able to claim as exclusive characteristics for its own social grouping "a cluster of so-called 'values,' ranging from such things as neatness, cleanliness and orderliness to drives like motivation for success and ability to plan towards it." This also appears to be the case for the majority of the children in the school, including those from the very low-income homes. The poor parents visited in this study expressed the desire that their children be clean and well-groomed as they attend school. But they were thwarted, not because of "pathologies" but because of the very real problem of lack of money. As in the case of Lilly's family, the cost to wash clothes for twelve persons appeared to be the major barrier to Lilly being able to wear clean clothes to school. Thus, the economic realities of poverty and the result that clean clothes were a luxury, contributed to the teachers' stereotypic evaluations and expectations of educational failure. From a somewhat different perspective, the large family from which Lilly came also contributed to their economic plight. Eleven children forced the division of the few resources of the family into such small quantities that they became nearly insignificant as to the needs of each individual child.

In a similar manner, none of the children in class, during the interviews, or in home visits expressed any desire to live in poverty. The teachers occasionally hinted, however, that they believed the children actually chose to live with the poor housing, absence of medical care, and low nutritional level. The implications of their conversations were, in part, that the children appeared to desire the same conditions in their adult life as supposedly experienced by their parents. The stereotypic impressions of the teachers, then, were that second grade children and younger desired to live on welfare payments, have illicit relations, and quit school to have nice clothes and "big cars." As discussed earlier in Chapter VIII, the low-income children themselves expressed substantially different goals and aspirations for themselves than attributed to them by the teacher. Those of low-income backgrounds expected by the teacher to assume the life styles of their parents did not indicate that they wished to do so.

The third and final assumption of both teachers and administrators which I believe needs to be re-examined relates to their adherence to a type of social determinism in regards to the children. That is, they continually reiterated the fact that children could not be changed or would not adapt themselves to the situation of the classroom. Thus, there was seen in the children a kind of social and behavioral immutability which pre-determined who could or could not be taught within the class. Those who could learn would do so, while those who could not would not. The teacher seemed to see herself as having to deal with children who, in a sense, were pre-ordained to one behavioral pattern or another. Thus she could not be expected to influence or induce behavioral modifications in the children, because they were set irreversitly in "their ways."

These assumptions of the teachers appear to fit very well both with the emergence of a caste system within the class and also with their rationalizations for the differential treatment and teaching of the children. If a certain group of children are not only expected to learn, but also seen as inevitably bound to do so, then the role of the teacher is to encourage and aid those particular children in the predictable unfolding of their learning experiences. If, on the other hand, a group of children is known to be "incapable of learning," there is little reason to spend time teaching them or expecting the same quality of performance as from those who will succeed. Thus, the self-fulfilling prophecy gains further impetus to become a reality within the class--not only the expectations of the teacher are now involved, but also the very process of "natural selection" whereby some will succeed while others will not. It is interesting to note that in this process of the selection of the fittest, those who emerge as most fit and most able are the very children who possess the traits that the teachers deem important for future success. Expectations of future success and high status in certain children appear to be based on the observable characteristics of behavioral and attitudinal patterns desired in the middle class; and these expectations are given further sanction by the acknowledging of an invariant process of the emergence of the fittest and ablest children. The teacher is to be sensitive to the emergence of such children and aid them in their development.

This assumption of social and cultural determinism held by teachers and administrators flies in the face of all progressive educational principles. Dewey, for example, rejected any notion that the learning capacity and educational experience of the child could at any time in the process of schooling be completely understood. In his last educational essay, he wrote (1952) of his own uncertainty as to what constitutes the educational experience. "What we want and need is education pure and simple, and we shall make surer and faster progress when we devote ourselves to finding out just what education is and what conditions have to be satisfied in order that education may be a reality and not a name or a slogan." Education for Dewey was to be learning based on experience and experimentation which had a direct connection to the previous knowledge of the child. Learning was to be a cumulative process inherently grounded in the realities of the child's life. The curriculum was to incorporate the experiences of the children, with special note being made to include the experiences of poor and working class children rather than totally relying on middle or upper class children. Likewise, Dewey emphasized the inherent capacity of all children to learn and to explore in their world, and he maintained that artificial standards of differentiation through the fragmentation of learning into "disciplines" or subjecting the child to periodic evaluations should be abolished. He writes (1897) "I believe, finally, that education must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience; that the process and the goal of education are one and the same things."

In the Attucks School, the goal and process of education have been clearly separated according to the assumptions and expectations of the teacher regarding the inherent academic potential of the children. The goal of the teacher for the children who have been defined as future "successes" entails one process of socialization and development of attitudinal characteristics; a different perceived goal for those of low-income families defined as future "failures" results in a clearly different process of education. It should be apparent that if one desires this society to retain its present social class configuration with the disproportional access to wealth, power, social and economic mobility, medical care, and freedom of choice in life styles, one should not disturb the present methods of education employed in Attucks School.

This contention is made because what develops as "caste" within the classrooms appears to emerge as "class" in the larger society. The low-income children grouped at the tables designated for "slow-learners" are treated as a caste of "unclean" and "intellectually inferior" persons. It is this very same group of children who in all probability will in their adult years become the carwashers, dishwashers, welfare recipients, and participants in numerous other un- or under-employed roles within this society. This is not to deny that some individuals do move upwards with socio-economic mobility from low-income family backgrounds, but the number is extremely small when compared to those who do not gain mobility to higher socio-economic status (Bogue, 1969). The question may quite honestly be asked, "Given the treatment of low-income children from the beginning of their kindergarten experience, for what class strata are they being prepared other than that of the lower class?" It appears that the public school system not only mirrors the configurations of the larger society, it significantly contributes to maintaining them.

The success of an educational institution and any individual teacher should not be measured by the treatment of the high achieving students, but rather by the treatment accorded to those perceived as not achieving. As is the case with a chain, the ultimate value of education for the continuation of a democracy is based on the weakest member. So long as the entire educational system and the individual teacher reserve treatment for the low-income student that is different in both quality and quantity, there will exist an imperative for change.

APPENDIX A

CHILDREN'S INTERVIEW

Personal Information

1) Can you tell me your name?
2) Can you spell your name for me?
3) Can you tell me how old you are?
4) Can you tell me where you live?

Attitudes Towards School

5) Suppose someone told you that you could decide beginning tomorrow whether or not you would come to school anymore. What would you do?

6) Why?
7) Do you think you would miss anything if you did not come?
8) What does school teach you about yourself?
9) What does school teach you about getting along with other children?

Interpersonal Relations

10) If you could choose all by yourself, who would you choose to sit next to?
11) Who would you choose next?
12) Which children would you choose not to sit next to?
13) What do these children do that you do not like?
14) Do some of the children in the class do things that you wish you could do?
15) Which children do these things?
16) Which child in the class do you think most of the children like the best?

Self Awareness

17) What makes you happy?
18) What makes you unhappy?
19) Do you think about other things during class?
20) If so, can you tell me about them?
21) Do you have feelings in the class that you try not to show?

(INSERT PICTURE DRAWING HERE)

Aspirations and Present Performance

22) What do you think you would like to be when you grow up?
23) Do you think that school will help you to be a _______?
24) In what ways? (If yes) How would you learn to be a ________?(If no)

25) What work in school do you like the best?
26) How are you in arithmetic?
27) How are you at reading?
28) What happens when you cannot do an arithmetic problem?
29) What happens when you cannot read something?
30) Does your teacher help you? How?
31) How are most children, are they good at arithmetic? Are they better than you? About the same as you? or not as good as you?
32) How are most children, are they good at reading? Are they better than you? About the same as you? or not as good as you?

Teacher-Student Relations

33) What kinds of things do the children do to make Mrs. Benson happy?
34) What does she do then?
35) What kinds of things do the children do to make Mrs. Benson unhappy?
36) What does she do then?

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES

The first area of questioning involved four questions related to the child's personal knowledge of himself. In the Tiger reading group, all the children could give complete and correct information for all four -questions. For the Cardinal reading group, all the children knew their first and last names. However, one child could not spell his first name and two could not spell their last names. All the children knew their ages in response to Question 3. When asked their address, three children responded that they did not know it. In the Clowns, all the children knew both their first and last name, but three could not spell their first name and two could not spell correctly their last names. All knew their age and all but one correctly gave their home address.

The second series of questions, Questions 5 through 9, dealt with the students' perception and attitudes towards the activities in the school. In response to Question 5, every child in the Tiger reading group indicated that he or she would come to school of their own volition. When asked why, six children responded that they wanted to "learn," four responded that they liked to "work," and two did not know why they would come. Ten of the Tigers indicated that they would miss something if they did not return and two stated they would not. When asked what school taught them about themselves, five responded that they did not know what school taught about themselves and seven indicated that school taught them to either "work" or to "learn." In response to what the school taught about getting along with other students, five noted that they did not know what the school taught in this regard and the remaining seven all responded in some variation that the school taught them "not to fight."

In the Cardinal reading group, all the students indicated that they would come to school were they given the choice. When asked why, twelve responded that they wanted to "learn," two that they simply "liked school" and one "because school is better than home." Five responded that they would miss nothing if they did not come while the remainder indicated that they would miss some activity or event. Four children indicated that they did not know what the school taught them about themselves. One boy stated that school taught him that he had twenty-four bones, another boy indicated that school taught him "not to do all that cussin'," and the remainder all responded with some variation of school teaching them about work or learning. In response to the last question, four children indicated that school taught them not to fight with others, two boys said that they did not know what school taught, one girl said that school taught them to love each other, and eight commented that school taught them to play with and like on another.

Among the Clowns reading group, seven children indicated that they would come to school while one girl said she would rather stay home. For those seven stating they would come, one noted he would come because his mother would force him to do so, two said they did not know why they would come and four said they would attend school because they wanted to "learn and do work." Four of the eight students in the Clown group said that they believed they would not miss anything if they did stay away. When asked the question of what school teaches them about themselves, two children responded that they did not know, while the rest of the group indicated that school taught them something about work or learning. With others, two indicated that they did not know what the school taught, four commented that they were taught not to fight, and two mentioned being taught to have friends.

The children's friendship patterns and sociometric preference within the class was the third major area in which questions were asked of the students. In response to Question 10, nine of the twelve Tigers chose a student in their same reading group as the first choice for a seating partner. Laura was chosen three times and Mary two. Three children chose students in the Clown group as first choice. For second choice as who to sit next to, seven students also chose a Tiger, while three chose a Cardinal and two a Clown. When asked which children they did not want to sit next to, twenty-four names were mentioned. Nineteen of these were either in the Cardinal (9) or in the Clown (10) groups. Nick, Curt, and Lilly were mentioned the most of children who were not desired to sit nearby. Each was chosen by three Tigers as undesirable. Fighting, talking, and pushing in line were the most frequent reasons for not desiring to sit near these three students. Similar reasons were also given for the other undesired students. When asked what students do things that they wish they were able to do, three of the Tigers mentioned to be able to draw "a lot like the Clowns do." Other children mentioned playing baseball, jumping rope, or going to the symphony. Four children could not think of anything that any other member in the class did that they wished they could do. When asked who was the most popular child in the class, Laura received one vote, Mary two. Interestingly, of the three boys in the group, one did not know who was the most popular and two picked a boy in either the Clown or Cardinal group.

Within the Cardinal reading group, nine of the first choice persons to sit next to were also Cardinals, two choices by boys were to sit next to Tom, a Tiger, and three were for Clowns. For second choice, eight students selected were also Cardinals while three were Tigers and three Clowns. Of the twenty-six names mentioned as students whom those in the Cardinal group would not like to sit next to, fourteen were distributed outside the Cardinal reading group, eight among the Clowns and six among the Tigers. Four students mentioned Nick, six mentioned Curt, and two mentioned Al. These were the only students to receive mention by more than one student. When asked what were some of the actions by the undesired children in the class, members of the Cardinal group responded that "they do nasty stuff, hit me, say bad things, call me names, jump on me, talk too loud, or tell stories on me." In response to Question 14 which asks if any of the children in the class do things that they wish they were able to do, three commented that there were no students who did things they wished they could do.

Four girls mentioned other girls who could jump rope, two girls noted others who could draw and one boy indicated another boy who knew his "A. B. C's." When asked who they thought was the child who was liked the best in the class, four of the children chose Mary, and one vote each was received by ten of the other children. Of the total of fourteen choices indicated, eight choices were for Tigers, four choices for fellow Cardinals, and two choices for Clowns.

In the Clown group, six children chose another Clown as the first choice as to whom each wished to sit next to, and three chose a Cardinal. As for the second choice, only two Clowns chose others from their same group while three chose Cardinals and four chose Tigers, with two of the four Tiger votes designated for Mary. Of the three Cardinal votes, two votes were for Curt. Fifteen names were given by those children in the Clowns as other children whom they did not wish to sit near. One-third (five) children indicated that they did not wish to sit near Nick. No other student in the class was mentioned more than once. Also, no Tiger was mentioned as undesirable to sit near. Five Cardinals were mentioned, as were five of the Clowns themselves, excluding Nick. Reasons for not wanting to sit near any of the children mentioned was that "they always meddlin', they keep on fightin', he be talkin', or 'he always be copy off me.'" Asked if there were things in the class that some of the children did that they wish they could do, four of the children commented that they wished they could read and print like some others do. Another child mentioned that she wished that she could "take trips for the teacher like Mary does." Also mentioned was being able to bring food and toys to school.

When asked which children were able to do these things, every child named a member of the Tiger reading group. Also, when asked whom they thought most popular in the class, only one Clown chose another Clown. One chose a Cardinal and six chose Tigers. Of the six votes for Tigers, three were for Mary, two for Laura, and one vote was for Joe.

The next series of five questions dealt with the child's sense of self-awareness and the degree to which the school experience influenced the stated self-awareness. When asked what made them happy, two of the Tigers both commented that they could not think of anything that made them happy. All three boys in the group responded, "Playin' with friends and playin' ball." One girl mentioned "Santa Claus," another "swimming lessons," and a third "people." The last response noted was pursued further and the girl was asked what it was about people that made her happy and she said, "They do nice things for you." Three children mentioned going on a trip of "goin' somewhere I never been before."

For one-half of the Tiger group, the most unpleasant of situations was when they experienced rejection. Comments such as "when nobody play with me," "when I got no friends," or "I have to be all alone" were typical of their responses. One child mentioned the cold weather, another stepping on his dog, and a third child could think of nothing. Only two girls tied unhappiness to material goods. One commented that she was most unhappy when she received only clothes for Christmas and the other mentioned, "When I can't have things." When asked if they "think of other things during class," five of the Tigers responded that they did not. Two responded that they did but could not remember what it was, while the remainder of the group divided their answers among "whether people will play with me," "when we goin' to move," "what we will eat tonight," "what will I be when I grow up" and merely "playin.'" Nine of the children responded that they did not have feelings in the class that they tried not to show. Three indicated that they did have such feelings, but two of these children could not precisely state what those feelings were. One girl said she had feelings of "not wantin' to be bad."

Of the Cardinals, four children gave no response to the question of what made them happy. Four of the group referred to circus clowns or people "sayin' funny things." One boy and one girl indicated playing with others was what made them most happy, while one boy responded that going on a picnic or to the zoo made him most happy. Two girls indicated gifts, another stated that a permanent by her mother made her most happy, and yet another said it was when her mother allowed her to go and play at the home of a friend. Only one child could not indicate what made her unhappy while eight of the students responded in terms of being in a fight or being hit by someone else when they did not like them. Only one child mentioned punishment from a parent and this was not being allowed to look at television. One child mentioned the class talking too loudly, another a lion, a third not being allowed to play ball because his friends did not like him. Seven of the Cardinals responded that they did not think about other things during class. Among the seven in the affirmative group, one child mentioned thinking about her friend, another about being a skeleton and growing wings, a third about finishing his school work, a fourth about playing after school, a fifth about lunch, and the remaining two boys noted that they thought about fighting with others after school. Only three of the group indicated that they had feelings in the class that they try not to display. Two of the girls related they tried not to show their embarrassment when they received a low grade on a paper and the third, a boy, said that he tried not to show off when he was "goin' somewhere."

Of the eight Clowns who were interviewed, only one responded to the question of "what makes you happy" with "I don't know." Another child responded that "to be good" made him most happy and a third commented that "playin' and doin' my work" made her happy. For the remaining five students, happiness was spoken of in terms of gifts, food, Christmas time, and toys. Two children could not say what made them unhappy while three commented that "gettin' a whoppin'" made them unhappy. A sixth child stated that seeing a dog hit by a car, a seventh noted not being able to leave the house, and the eighth stated his school work made him unhappy. Three children commented that they do not think about other things during class, while responses from the remaining five ranged from "my baby brother, my bike, doin' colorin' and readin' books or playin'." The question "Do you have feelings in the class that you try not to show?" elicited five "no" and the three following: "Yes, I try not to act up," "Yes, about my head," and "Yes, I want to learn to read."

At this point in the interview, the questions were halted and each of the students was asked to draw a picture of himself. All of the children except Lilly agreed to do so. In the group of Tigers only one girl drew her face in an outline of brown and left the remainder of the face white. All the other Tigers colored inside the outline and darkened the face. Two also drew only a head, though on one of the two, the picture went as far as the waist. Six children drew a complete figure, but without any background. One child drew herself in a complete figure, but without any background. One child drew herself in a complete figure without background, but jumping rope. On the remaining two pictures, both done by boys, they placed themselves in full body on green grass with both blue sky and a sun. One boy also added seven tulips.

Among the Cardinals, only one boy did not draw the picture of himself to include all of his body. His picture stopped at the waist. Six children drew complete bodies on a page with no background or other drawing. On one of the six, the picture was drawn very small in the lower left hand corner of the paper and on another there were no features on the face. One boy drew both himself and a friend playing basketball, and neither figure had facial features. This was the only drawing in the group with two figures. One girl pictured herself with eight balloons on two strings in one hand and a yellow purse in the other. This was done by one of the children held back from the Tigers by Mrs. Benson. The other child held back drew a picture of himself inside of his room with a television, a fireplace with pictures and flowers on it and a collection of seashells on a table. Three of the children pictured themselves on green grass with blue sky while the fourth placed himself in a chair.

In the group of eight Clowns, all drew pictures of themselves with a complete body. Three did not color in their faces though they outlined the face in brown. One girl drew herself with her friend, one house, one tree, two flowers, one cat, one yellow bird, one Easter egg, and one sun with a brown nose and red smiling lips. Of the remaining four pictures, none had a background of any type. No picture done by any child in the group was done without facial features, though only one of the eight added ears.

The fifth set of questions were then asked of the children upon their completion of the drawing. The questions were concerned with ascertaining the child's stated adult role aspirations for himself and also his evaluation of his present performance in the school.

Among the Tigers, five of the girls responded that they wished to become nurses when they "grow up." Four other girls mentioned teacher, while the three boys mentioned policeman, truck driver, and doctor. All children in the group indicated that going to school would help them to reach their stated occupational goals. When asked how it would help, all responded on some variation of the fact that school would teach them what they needed to know to assume their occupational roles. The favorite subject in school was arithmetic for five students and spelling for five students. One other student mentioned reading while the last of the group mentioned coloring. In relation to their personal evaluation of their performance in reading and arithmetic, eleven of the twelve on both subjects indicated that they thought they did either "good, fine, or o.k." In arithmetic, one girl said that she thought she did "not do so well" and in reading one boy said he did not know how he was doing. Questions 28 and 29 deal with what the child indicated he did when he could not do an arithmetic problem or read "something." Half of the group responded that they would go immediately to the teacher for help. Three said that they would study harder at home or try to think about the answer in class. Two responded that they would get a poor grade and one had no response. When asked how their teacher helped them, nine of the students said that the teacher would tell the answer or give them hints. One student said that the teacher helped, but he could not remember how she did so. Comments of "No, she don't help" and "Only sometime" were made by the remaining two students. Against the measure of the performance of the other children in the class in arithmetic and reading, ten stated that they were about the same in performance as the rest of the class and two said they did better work than the remainder. In reading, eight responded "about the same" while four said that others in the class did not do as well as they did. No child in the group on either of the two questions indicated that he perceived himself as doing less well than other members of the class.

Occupational choices among the Cardinals was much more diversified than for the Tigers and not as many were in the category of white-collar or professional. Three boys indicated a desire to be policemen and two other boys stated they wished to become doctors. The two other boys mentioned "airplane flyer" and "fireman." Among the girls, two did not know, one mentioned being a teacher, two being mothers and three nurses. When asked if school would help them become what they stated, eleven said it would, two said it would not, and two did not know. The group gave the following responses to the question of what they liked best in school to do: six gave arithmetic, three noted reading, four spelling, one writing and one girl offered recess. When questioned as to how they evaluated their personal performance on reading and arithmetic, eleven said that they were doing "all right, o.k., pretty good." Three said that they were not doing very well and one did not know. If difficulty arose with either reading or arithmetic, and they could not complete the reading or problem, only two of the fifteen stated that they would go to the teacher for help. Four indicated that they would get "a whoppin'" when they could not do the work, six others mentioned that they would fail, one noted that he would try to "figure them out" and two did not know what happened when they could not finish their work due to difficulty. Question "Does your teacher help you?", was answered in the affirmative by thirteen of the group. Two responded "sometimes" and no one indicated that she does not help them. A comparative evaluation of their personal performance as related to the remainder of the class gave results that in arithmetic, ten of the students thought they were about the same as the rest of the class, three thought they did not do as well, one thought she did better, and one girl did not know. In reading, eight thought they did as well, five thought they did not do as well, one thought she did better and one did not know how she compared with the class.

The dispersion of choices among those in the Clowns as to occupational choice is greater than any of the three groups. The fewest children within this group stated that they desired professional or white collar jobs. Their perception of future employment was generally in the range of working class occupations. One boy indicated a fireman, another a policeman, a third a house painter, a fourth a lawyer, and a fifth a "man." Among the girls, a nurse, a teacher, and a baby-sitter were mentioned. Six of the group said that school would help for their occupational training and two said it would not. The subjects stated as being liked the best were reading (chosen by three), library (one), drawing (one), workbooks (one), writing (one), and the last, recess. Given that no one in the group chose arithmetic as a favorite subject, when asked how they were doing in arithmetic, five said they were doing all right, and three said that they were not doing well. With reading the figures changed considerably in that all of the children in the Clowns thought they were doing well in reading. When they could not do an arithmetic problem, two stated that they went to the teacher for help, three said they got poor grades, one said "I be so dumb," another answered "I get a wrong on my paper," and the last child, a boy, indicated, "I put my head on my desk." When questioned about not being able to read something, two children said they would be sent back to kindergarten, two said they would get a "whoppin'," one would "try to work it out," one would go to the teacher for help, one did not know, and the last stated that he would be given a bad grade. Every child said that the teacher could help if they did not know the answer, but the manner in which she gave the help differed from that stated by both the Tigers and the Cardinals. One child in the Clowns said the teacher would "fold our paper," another "she made me do it," a third, "she hit me to do it," and others said that she would tell them "not to do it."

Concerning the two questions of how they evaluated their performance in reading and arithmetic as opposed to the performance of others in the class, four of the students said that they were doing "about the same" as the remainder of the class and four said they were not doing as well.

The last of the six areas in which questions were asked of the children related to their perceptions of the expectations of the teacher, Mrs. Benson, and her response to the behavior and performance of the students in the class.

Among the Tigers the overwhelming response (eight out of twelve) to the question of what the children did that made the teacher happy was that they were quiet and did not talk in class. Typical of the response were the following: "She go out of the room and when she come back, we ain't talkin'"; "When she come in the room and we restin' and bein' quiet"' "When we sit nice and don't be talkin'." Among the remaining four students, the replies were one no response; one "when they don't keep on callin' her name when she doin' somethin'", one "When we get good grades"; and the last "When we pay attention and do what she say." When asked what kinds of things Mrs. Benson does when the children make her happy, two responded that she will let them draw, three indicated that she does not do anything, four said she will verbally reward them with such comments as "That's nice" or "Oh, I'm so happy with the Tigers." The remaining three answers were as follows: "She smile and go have Nick turn on the lights," "She read with the best row," and "She be happy." Asked as to what the children do to make Mrs. Benson unhappy, six children, as could be expected indicated that talking out in class made her unhappy. The second most frequent reason for her being unhappy (given by three) was the children playing on the floor. The other three children mentioned, "Chewin' gum"; "actin' up"; and did not know. The group indicated that Mrs. Benson took rather strong measures against those who made her unhappy. Ten of the twelve mentioned that the teacher would hit the child that caused the disturbance and only two mentioned that she would talk to them and tell them "not to do it again."

Within the group of Cardinals, the circumstances under which they perceived the teacher as being happy were much more diversified than was the case with the Tigers. Only four children mentioned the class "not talkin'" as being cause for Mrs. Benson to be happy. Three mentioned that she was happy when the children brought her candy, or flowers or "somethin' pretty." Two mentioned drawing funny pictures, two noted telling her a funny story, and one student said, "When we do what she tell us to do." Three others did not know what made her happy. Asked what Mrs. Benson does when she is happy, three did not know, two said she laughed, three said she may sometime give the class a party, one said she may give the class some candy, two mentioned that she smiles and tells the class "they so good," and the last student noted that she will give the class good grades. Situations cited as causing Mrs. Benson to be unhappy were listed by five students as the class talking out loud, one mentioned when the class does not get good grades, four mentioned not doing what the teacher had asked them to do, three students included students playing on the floor, and one spoke of not knowing what caused the teacher to be unhappy. The teacher was described as responding in a fashion very close to that noted by the Tigers. Eleven of the students in the group stated the teacher hit those children that made her unhappy, three did not know what she did and one said that she did not let them read with the rest of their group.

In the reading group designated as the lowest and termed the Clowns by the teacher, the children indicated that good grades and not talking made Mrs. Benson happy. (Three students gave each answer.) For the other two students, one said that to bring her candy was what made her most happy and the last indicated playing records during parties. Mrs. Benson's reaction to the students making her happy is given a variety of different descriptions. Three said she smiles, two indicated that she lets them play in the room, one did not know what she does, and the remaining two students said that she tells them "they are so nice and good students." Mrs. Benson was described as being unhappy, not only when the class talks, noted by three students, but also when they "fight and spit"--one student, "do bad work"--two students, "run around the room"--one student, and the last, did not know. Seven of the eight responded that Mrs. Benson hit those who made her unhappy. The eighth student did not respond.

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